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ART. I.—THE POWER OF CHRIST'S MORAL CHARACTER.

THE views of every body of Christians are very much determined by some prominent view which it takes of the Savior. For Christ, unlike the philosophers, did not merely teach, but lived out what he taught. Christianity was embodied in his life. He is the sun at the centre, around which all Christian truth revolves. The prominent ideas that we have of him must, more or less, modify all our notions of his religion. Therefore, in all ages of the church, the views entertained of Christ have been deemed, and justly, of the very highest importance.

But at the outset, we are struck with the fact, that, on this subject, men have been divided into two distinct classes;—one class deeming the metaphysical view of Christ the most essential, the other, the moral view. That is, one has deemed it of primary importance that men should have just notions of the *nature* of Christ; the other, that men should have just conceptions of his *character*. These different views do not exclude each other, and so of course have been more or less blended together. But still with each side, one view has been predominant, and the other subordinate. Whatever other differences relative to Christ may have existed on the surface, this has been the one at the foundation; and as men have embraced one side or the other, a different direction or different color has

been given to all their other views of Christianity. Therefore, and justly, we repeat, at all times, Christians have held correct views of Christ to be of primary importance.

Ever since the Apostolic days, the tendency has been to make the metaphysical view of Christ the essential and only important one. However a few may have felt, the mass of Christians have held the moral view of Christ wholly subordinate. Men have never been martyred, because they held too low notions of the Savior's character. His character has formed no subject for creeds. But creeds have almost always been filled with speculations as to his nature. To sustain particular views on this point, no efforts, no penalties have been thought too great. For this churches have hurled denunciations against heretics; for this the Inquisition has dug dungeons; and armies have been arrayed with hostile banners; and the sky of Christendom been made red with the flames of martyrdom. Christians often have not merely ceased to imitate, but have ceased to think of, the character of Christ, in contentions about his nature.

Now we do not doubt, we believe, that errors may arise as to Christ's nature, fruitful in evil results. But still we hold all speculations and all beliefs as to his nature to be of very small consequence, in comparison with just conceptions of his character. Many reasons might be given for this; but it will be sufficient for our present purpose to refer to two or three of them.

Had a definite and accurate faith in Christ's nature been necessary, we cannot doubt that it would have been revealed distinctly, as the doctrine of a Future Life is revealed. That it has not been so revealed is evident from the fact, that, for nearly seventeen hundred years, the question, as to what his nature is, has been agitated, and as yet does not approach to a settlement. And the fact that it is not referred to in the New Testament except incidentally, if at all, shows that neither our Savior, nor his Apostles, regarded it an important subject for us to dwell upon.

Again, speculations as to Christ's nature must be of subordinate interest, because it is one of those cases in which, (though positive errors on the subject, when made prominent as articles of faith and incorporated with creeds, might lead to much evil,) a knowledge of the truth could do little good. What has a belief in Christ's nature, whether it be understood to be divine,



or super-angelic, or angelic, or human, to do with a virtuous and holy life? He, who believes that Christ was subordinate to the Father, believes that the Father spake through him, and therefore that the commands of Christ are divine, and that all the truths and laws and motives he has given are divine, — resting on a divine authority. To the Trinitarian and to the Unitarian the Bible is the same and its authority the same. Though the Unitarian believe that the truths of the Gospel came through an appointed Mediator, he believes *no less* than that they came from God as their source; and the Trinitarian can believe *no more*. Whichever way one believe, every law of God for the moral and religious life on earth, and every hope of heaven are left untouched.

There is a still more important consideration. The making of a correct faith in Christ's nature the prominent thing disconnects our faith in him from the heart and conscience and life, and makes it a mere matter for the intellect. If we look at Christ's nature alone, we have in him neither standard of duty, nor object of imitation. The view is purely *intellectual*. Hence, as the intellect has to do with opinions alone, a correct *belief* came to be considered the all-important thing. And this mode of viewing Christ has fostered that monstrous error which has thrown a baneful shade over Christendom; namely, that intellectual opinions, of and for themselves, are of primary importance in religion. Hence creeds have been filled with nice distinctions as to Christ's nature, and assent to them made a test of fitness for salvation. Religion has sometimes been made a matter for the intellect so far, that while an Alexander VI. might be at the head of the Romish Church, and a Henry VIII. at the head of the English, he, whose intellectual opinions varied from theirs, though endowed with all the virtues, might be deemed, by the general sentiment of the age, worthy of martyrdom. This making of the metaphysical view of Christ the important one has done more, than any other single thing, to confirm that enormous evil of making opinion the standard of Christian attainment, — an evil which, like the folds of the serpent, envelops our religion and presses out its life.

But, instead of dwelling on the reasons that cause us to dissent from those who make the nature of Christ the important thing in a faith in him, we prefer to consider some of the reasons that induce us to attach a far higher importance to just notions of his character.

As on one side men have looked almost solely at the nature of Christ, and have elevated that to the rank of Deity, so others have vibrated to the opposite side, and thought that Christ, as a person, was of little importance in his religion. To us it seems that in his religion, Christ, — because of his character, — not nature, — is as the sun, the illuminator and interpreter of all that is dark. He is the living manifestation of all that it is most important for us to know in the spiritual world. In his character we see those things, which of all others, as Christians and accountable beings, it most concerns us to have knowledge of; the character of God; an interpretation of the moral laws of God; and a perfect standard of moral excellence. We shall make some remarks on each of these points, in order to show how essential in Christianity is the character of Christ, — how important the moral view of him.

1. In the character of Christ, the character of God is revealed. In the words of the Savior; He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father.

Correct notions of the character of God lie at the foundation of all true religion and of nearly all true morality and moral happiness. It is so because the character of God determines all his laws, and consequently all religious duty and hope. Hence a correct knowledge of the Divine Being is the most important knowledge that a human being can have. As far as our conceptions of his character are erroneous, duty loses its true guide and hope is built on the sand.

But how are we to arrive at just conceptions of the Divine character? Nature has not at any time disclosed it to men. Where shall we go for light? To the Scriptures, — it is said, and truly said. There we are taught in the plainest words that God is just and good. But even here we meet with a difficulty. What is justice, what is beneficence? We must go to our own hearts for an answer. In them we find certain sentiments, to which we give the names justice and beneficence, and by these we interpret the words when made use of to describe the character of God. But how liable we are here to error. We see the Deity through ourselves; and just as far as our characters are corrupted and perverted, we shall mistake the character of God. We look at him through a distorted medium, and his character appears distorted. Each man, it has been said, makes his own Deity. To the hard and austere, he appears

as an inexorable judge. To the vindictive, his prominent characteristic will appear to be a readiness to avenge himself on his enemies. The tender and forgiving will see in him a God of mercy only. Thus every man's notions of Deity will be narrowed or perverted by his own peculiarities of character. We need something, when we endeavor to form just ideas of God, which shall aid us to correct the aberrations of our minds, occasioned by the unseen under-currents of our passions or defective moral feelings.

This aid we find in the character of Christ. The Divine Being seems afar from us. He is clothed in clouds and darkness. And mere abstract descriptions of him in words, often but the vague and indefinite symbols of thoughts as vague and indefinite as themselves, fail to disclose him to us. But what words could not do, is done by the character of Christ. In Christ we are taught that we may see an image of God. In him we see the Father. In him we see a perfect image of the perfections of the Father, and, what is all-important, presented in a manner intelligible to us. The character of Christ we may in some degree understand. He is brought within the circle of our sympathies. He is not merely described, but we see him act, and hear him speak, and behold his life. We behold him in the wilderness of the Temptation; we follow his steps through Gallilee and Judea; we hear his justice speak in his condemnation of the Pharisee and the hypocrite; we hear his beneficent voice beside the sick, the mourning, the dead. He not only requires holiness and justice and beneficence of men, but shows what they are, by acting them out again and again in almost every condition and trial of life. His character stands before us distinct and definite. And as far as we are able to appreciate the character of Jesus, we are able to form just conceptions of those moral perfections which belong to the invisible God.

How necessary it is to us, that the moral perfections of the Divine Being should be manifested through the life of one, whose character would be intelligible to us from the fact of its being disclosed amidst trials, joys, pains, sorrows, such as we are all subject to, may be illustrated by referring to the way in which we arrive at a knowledge of the natural attributes of the Deity, as for example, his wisdom and power. Could we imagine ourselves shut out from all knowledge of the *works* of God, and were we then told that he was wise and powerful, how inadequate

would be the ideas that we should attach to the words wisdom and power as applied to the Deity. Mere words could not convey these ideas. But let our eyes be couched, so that we might look abroad on the glories of the universe, and learn that the Being, who unfolds the leaves of the flower which opens its unnoticed beauty by the side of a forest stream, is the same who set the firm pillars of the earth, and kindled the undying flame of the sun, and established the everlasting circle of the stars, and the words wisdom and power have a meaning to them. The greatness of God is in some measure revealed. That is, we learn the wisdom and power of God, by seeing them manifested through works of wisdom and power. For the same reason, constituted as we are, the only way, in which we can arrive at any just notions of the character of God, is by seeing it revealed through character. Therefore it was in infinite condescension to our blindness, that God as it were stooped from his heavens, and humbled himself to our feeble comprehensions, and revealed his infinite glories in the softer light of the visible life of Jesus. Therefore it was, that he sent his Son into the world, not a mere prophet, but the image of himself.

Dim and vague as our conceptions of the character of Deity are, we cannot but think that they owe very much of the distinctness, which they may have, to the fact, that we have seen his perfections displayed in the life of the Son of God. The more perfect our knowledge of Christ becomes, the more shall we understand the perfections of God. The more our love of the Savior enables us to appreciate his excellencies, the more will the excellencies of the Supreme be revealed to us. Thus we may see the important meaning of the truth, that by Christ we have access unto the Father.

2. The character of Christ is the best interpreter of Christianity.

Christ is Christianity. In Christ we see Christianity alive, moving amid human sympathies, tested by trial, triumphant in death. God has not revealed himself through oracular and blind sayings alone, nor in such a way that it is necessary that a man should be a logician to understand his revelations, but merely that he should have human sympathies. And thus Christianity is a religion, not for the philosopher alone, but also for the poor and ignorant. And this helps to explain the fact, that philosophers have been the great corrupters of Christianity,



—explains how that poor woman, who, in the infirmity of age, in the midst of sorrows, sits in her hovel by her winter's fire, and slowly spells out the history of the Savior whom she loves and hopes soon to behold, knows, though she may not explain it as well, a thousand fold more of the vital truths of Christianity, than multitudes whom men call philosophers and divines. This poor woman has interpreted Christianity by the character of Christ; the philosopher has interpreted it by his philosophy.

We repeat, he who understands the character of Christ understands the very soul of Christianity. He understands not merely a few disputed dogmas on the borders of Christianity, but he stands at the centre and overlooks the whole territory. How, the question is often asked, how shall the humble and ignorant man understand the Bible? There must be some rule of interpretation, some key that will unlock its mysteries, which he can use and which will be sufficient. What is it? What must he do? Let him read the Gospels in such a frame of mind and spirit, that he may understand the *character* of the Savior, and he will have what he seeks. The poorest and most ignorant man, though he may have no other commentary, may thus possess himself of the best and of a perpetual commentary on all that the Savior said. He may take that character as it were a torch in his right hand to guide him through the dark places of the Scriptures. A text taken by itself may be difficult to be understood, but bring the commentary of the Savior's whole life and character to shed its light on this one dark point, and it will brighten and grow clear. If a man do this, it is as if Christ stood by his side with living voice to interpret the mysteries of his religion. To him who takes this course, commentaries and lexicons will be of little value; and he who takes not this course, all the commentaries in the world will not enable him to understand the Bible.

We are not conscious of the importance of the character of Christ in disclosing to us spiritual truth. Even when profiting from it we are not conscious of it. Take the life and character of Christ out of the Bible and leave only his teachings, and you would have left nothing but propositions as vague as those of philosophy. You would have only the shadows of truths: in Christ we see the truths themselves. Take the character of Christ out of the Scriptures, and you would take the Sun out of them. It would be like blotting the sun from this material



universe. Something might be seen by the cold light of the stars; but nature would lie dead; the green hill, the cultured vale, the shining river, colorless, dead, indistinct, with uncertain outline and deceptive shadows.

We do not mean to say that spiritual truths might not be disclosed to us in other ways. They have been variously disclosed. The truths of God shine dimly up from the face of Nature; they are suggested by human experience; before Christ's time they had been in some measure taught by human lips appointed of God. But these were all imperfect modes. Truth came to men only in a circle of vague reflections. Therefore God sent his Son, who was the truth itself in a human form.

Let us apply these remarks to one or two particular cases.

The character of Christ is the best interpreter of the doubtful doctrines of Christianity. Nothing will show this more plainly than a case which Fox in one of his sermons employs in illustrating the same point, and which is so much to the purpose, that we venture to use it again. It is the extreme case of a doctrine now to the honor of humanity not often believed, (though by necessary implication it still lingers, a melancholy monument of the past in the Assembly's Confession of Faith,) the doctrine of the damnation of non-elect infants dying in infancy. No one, we suppose, ever professed to find this doctrine, too horrible to mention, explicitly taught in the Scriptures. It is one of the conclusions of human logic, striving to arrive at something higher than what is written; one of those monstrous abortions of human reasoning, which sometimes make us ready to think that man's reason is, what it is so often described to be, not a light kindled in the mind by Him who rules in the heavens, but a treacherous lamp put into our hands by some demon from the abyss. But in rejecting this doctrine, we would go into no long reasoning upon it. We would bring it to the test of the Savior's character. We would hold it up against the brightness of his character, (and see if the two are consistent with each other,) who when on earth took little children in his arms and said of such is the kingdom of heaven, and who taught all who would enter heaven, that they must become as little children; thus making childhood, its innocence and faith and humility, the very emblem and type of the heavenly spirit. Contrasting the two together, we do not doubt, we do not argue, as far as we can know any thing, we *know* that the doc-

trine is false. Are we to imagine that Christ would plunge the innocent things which he held in his arms into perdition? No! Christian parent. The sweet child which you have lost and whose features shall never more on the earth kindle into smiles as it runs to greet you; which shall never again fly, a dove to its nest, to pour out its infant sorrows into your bosom,—that sweet child, long-lost it may be, but never forgotten, is sheltered by the embracing love of the Savior. But Christ is the image of God. If the doctrine be inconsistent with the character of Christ, then it is inconsistent with the character of God. And if inconsistent with the character of Christ and of God, of course it is false.

Or to take an example of Christian duty. A duty taught and explained through example is clear and definite. Taught in words only it must be vague. For instance: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Words could hardly make a duty more definite. But said the Jewish lawyer, "Who is my neighbor?" by this question covering the whole duty with mist and doubt. And it is easy to see how an ingenious man might explain and qualify, till he had qualified the soul of the commandment out of it. But bring up the character of Christ to illustrate the command, and we no longer doubt who are our neighbors. They are all whom we can harm or benefit.

3. In Christ's character we have a perfect standard of excellence. And in this respect its importance can hardly be over-rated. The reason of its importance is easily seen.

Christ came to save the world. But how? By saving it from its sins. He came to save the world by elevating the character of the world. He came to save the individual by elevating the character of the individual. The whole object of his mission was to change, to elevate, to purify the *character* of the world. But how was this change to be wrought? It is answered, and of course rightly, by the truths he taught. But some having so answered, have also said, that provided we had the truths of the gospel it mattered not how, or in what way, they came to us. But to us it seems that to take the example of Christ from his teachings, to take his character out of the gospel, were almost like taking the principle of life out of the human body. Christ does reform the world by the instrumentality of truth. But he has given that truth its power over the character, by first having lived it, and thus taught it through his own character.

We are influenced a thousand fold more through our sympathies than through our intellects. The reading of all the moral writings of all the philosophers would not do us as much good, as the spending of one day in intimate communion with a thoroughly pure and good man. All abstract teaching of truth instructs the intellect; but in most cases it penetrates little beyond the intellect. As intellect acts on intellect, so character on character. The friend draws his friend to good or evil through the power of character on character. The parent's wise counsels weigh but little till they are taught through the life. Permit us to illustrate this more at length.

Go into a small village in the country. Here is a man who, from the nature of his business, is brought into connexion with nearly all around him. He is neither rich, nor wise, nor endowed with shining traits of any kind; but he has a pure and elevated character. In his dealings he is strictly honest. It is seen by all that he never will take advantage of the law at the expense of justice; that he will take advantage of no one's ignorance or inexperience or folly. The child, the most ignorant man, may deal with him as securely as he who understands the whole business. There is no ostentation about it. He is quietly, steadily, unostentatiously, because his own conscience tells him he ought to be, upright. He is more strict in requiring uprightness of himself, than of others.

He is benevolent. Wherever good is to be done and he has power to do it, he does it; not because others require it, but because he has a heart and conscience that require it. He seeks no praise or reward for it, but is grateful for the opportunity of doing as much as he can.

He is a devout man. He is not ashamed to be grateful to God for his blessings, but deems one of the chief charms of all blessings, the ability to connect them in grateful emotions with their source. In other words, in his family and in all the business of life, he is a Christian, openly, sincerely, gratefully, unostentatiously, a Christian man.

Do we say too much, in saying that one such man will raise the character of the whole village? Though he never say a word about uprightness, or benevolence, or religion, through the simple action of character on character, through the social sympathies, he will raise all around. His influence may be silent and slow, but it will be certain, and more powerful than daily lectures from the greatest philosopher that ever lived. It may

itself be unobserved ; but it flows on like a still stream through the valleys, which is traced only by the greenness and fertility of its banks ; itself hidden oftentimes by the very luxuriance of the herbage to which it has given nourishment.

But the influence of the good man's character stops not with those around him. He has children. And when he is gone they remember and honor him, and it is for his virtues. They have a standard of uprightness and truth and excellence ever in memory ; a standard consecrated by affection, and made unchangeable by death. They go abroad into the world. They may hear that these virtues have no existence, — that all men are at heart, as far as they dare to be, selfish and untrustworthy. But they know that the world speaks false. The scoffs of the world at virtue fall powerless on him, who can go back to the grave of such a parent. They know that these virtues are real, for they have seen them lived out in a parent's life, and they know how noble and excellent they are. Blessed is the child that has such a parent to remember ! Such a one knows that there is virtue on earth, and he will not doubt that there is an abode for it in heaven.

“When by a good man's grave I muse alone,  
Methinks an angel sits upon the stone ;  
Like those of old on that thrice hallowed night,  
Who sate and watched in raiment heavenly bright,  
And with a voice inspiring joy, not fear,  
Said, pointing upward, that he is not here,  
That he is risen !”

We may ascend to higher instances. The lives of Oberlin and Howard have given a greater impulse to active benevolence, than all the treatises on the duty of benevolence ever written. The Christian integrity of Wilberforce gave support to the halting virtue of politicians in his own time, and will not cease to give it. And the most intolerant thing on earth, religious bigotry, dooming all outside one's own sect to destruction, has been rebuked and had its theories overthrown and its denunciations silenced, by reading the life of such a man as Fénélon. Such men are the world's treasures. Every such character that appears is a pulse of life, that beats on and quickens with a new vitality the lethargic virtue of society. It is as true as in days of old, that ten righteous men can save a city. It is almost miraculous — the power of a righteous life. As the words of a wise man act on the minds of others, the life of a



good man acts on their souls. Its influence is shed abroad into the hearts of friends, and through them, in ever enlarging circles, into the hearts of others. The man, the community, the state, which has a truly righteous man to look up to as an elevated and pure standard of character, has a possession worth more than philosophers, and rhetoricians, and overflowing treasures. Truth is powerful; but truth, lived and acted out, and so placed that it may be seen, is omnipotent. She then has a divine power. Men may band together, and with force, for a time, drive her aside from the world, and imprison her in dungeons, but she converts the very jailers that keep watch over her, and sends them forth her ministers and apostles. Foes may arm themselves, Pilate and Herod may come together, and enter into alliances against her, and slay her followers, and pierce her sacred body with wounds, — they may wrap her in her winding-sheet and lay her in the grave and set armed bands to watch over her sepulchre; but the very earth shall open to give up the dead, and she stand forth again, a living and immortal creature.

The examples, to which we have referred as illustrating the power of character, are but feeble emblems of the moral power of the character of Christ. He stands before the world, not merely the image of God, but the standard of perfected humanity. In him perfect moral excellence is embodied, and by being embodied is made distinct, clear, definite, to the world's eye. Henceforth the world's ideas of moral excellence are as much more distinct, as would be one's conceptions of a work of art, who, having only read some vague description of it in words, should afterwards see it embodied in the chiselled and polished marble. The fact that one perfect character has appeared, where it might be seen, has cleared up and rendered definite the world's notions of moral excellence forever. The passions of men seeking apology for indulgence, the customs of different nations and ages, the conflicting theories of philosophers, all disturb and confuse and cloud over our notions of moral excellence. But above these broken and drifting clouds, the character of Christ stands and shines fixedly like a star. If we look only around us in our voyage over life, instead of fixed landmarks, we see only night, and storm, and breaking waves. We look upward, and there shines that constant, tranquil, eternal light to guide us across the seas.

Let one living, perfect standard of excellence be raised aloft



so that all may see it, and the world unconsciously measures itself by it. Some looking at that perfect example, revere and love, and through reverence and love ascend towards it, and others follow them. All feel a gravitating power raising them upward. That ideal standard gives a coloring to literature, it modifies philosophy, gives direction to men's views of life and its objects, and affects, more or less, all human institutions. Its influence must indeed be gradual and slow. To change the ideas and institutions and habits of thought and feeling of the world, must be the work of ages. But the influence of such a standard is certain. It acts like the mild influences of the spring as they come to the frozen coasts of the North. Slowly but certainly the ice melts away, and the snows disappear, and the earth's heart is warmed, and bud and leaf and blossom unfold under the gentle breath of the South. The power is mild, equal, but irresistible, like the power of God. Tempted, frail, sinful as we certainly are, forgetful of Christ as we may be, we still cannot but think that the existence of his character, as a reality, and a perfect standard of virtue and holiness, raised before the eyes of the world, (though we may have been unconscious of its influence,) through its great power over the character of a few, and its direct or indirect influence on all, has more than anything else given power to Christianity, and though slowly and interruptedly, yet certainly, been ever elevating the character of Christendom.

But where has the power of his character been seen? We answer, it has been seen from the beginning. It was in that glance which sent Peter forth to weep bitterly. It awoke that remorse in the heart of the betrayer, which made him fly to self-destruction as a refuge from self-reproach. The centurion bore witness to it, when he saw in him, who was dying on the cross, a Son of God. It took its ignominy from the most degrading mode of punishment. It transfigured the very cross itself, till what was associated with the lowest infamy, has become the emblem of highest hope. It is because of that character still shining from it, that the cross is sacred to all time,—that it towers over churches, and is reared above altars,—that living men kneel before it and dying men clasp it to their bosoms. It is not his words, merely, but his living example, that has raised up thousands of martyrs to human good, and has caused thousands with words of forgiveness on their lips, to die calmly at the stake, not for fame, not for their country, not for their

friends, but for the good of their foes. The world's great spiritual benefactors, when the scorn and persecution of men lay heavy on them, have repeated his words, *Thy will be done*; and, as if an angel had been present to strengthen them, have felt new fortitude. And when persecution has ended in death, from the midst of the furious crowd they have looked up to the calm and open heavens and said, "*Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.*" In all times, they, who have gone to the heathen with the gospel in their hands, have carried the image of Christ in their hearts. Nothing is more remarkable than the manner in which those, who have been most earnest and hearty in the highest Christian enterprises, have connected their labors and hopes with Christ himself. They have been not merely students of his *words*, but followers of *him*. They have labored for *him*, they have been cheered by the promise that he would be with them, — they have loved him, died for him, and hoped to meet him in heaven. Had the gospel only been written, it would have addressed the intellect and been mainly a matter for intellectual speculation. By living out the gospel under the greatest trials, Christ has met one of the great wants of human nature. He has connected inseparably the truths of the gospel with the emotions and affections of men. Had the gospel been only taught as philosophy, it might still have been so taught. But there would have been no missionary, and no martyr to human welfare, unless Christ himself had first been a missionary and a martyr.

All the labors for human improvement, that now cover Christendom with its true glory, are but streams flowing out more or less directly from the fountain of Christ's example. His life and his death gave the first impulse to this laboring for human good. His words indeed, but his example still more, taught the essential equality of all men, — that under purple robes and under beggar's weeds is the same human soul, having the same essential rights and destiny. He first of all trampled down the dividing lines of caste and nation, and proclaimed the great idea of modern civilization, that all men are children of one God, and made to be brethren.

In acting out these great principles, the influence of Christ is seen producing the grandest and most striking results; but we may see it with equal distinctness in particular cases and in humbler things. How much has the estimation, in which men hold the duty of benevolence, been elevated by seeing Christ

die to accomplish a work of unmixed beneficence. How many words of forgiveness have been prompted by the dying words of Christ. The mother that mourns the loss of her child, looks to him in her time of desolation; she remembers how he blessed children on earth, and in the midst of her tears, how is her heart soothed as with the eye of faith she sees her dear one still blessed by him in heaven. The dying man, as the shadows lengthen and all earthly lights grow dim, does not speculate on immortality; but to soothe his fears, he looks to him who died and was laid in the grave, yet now lives, the first fruits of them who slept.

But we need not go to such extreme cases to see the influence of Christ. His example, whose presence brought a holier light to the marriage of Cana, and consolation to the mourning sisters of Lazarus, who taught, by his example, the powerful, that their highest office was to become the benefactors of the humble, who taught the rich for his sake to give to the poor, and went a self-invited, but blessed guest, to the tables of penury; his example has modified all the relations of society. It has brought high and low together, and united them in the bonds of a living sympathy. In heathen lands, before Christ's time, there were rich and poor, high and low, but they were separated by almost impassable barriers. Scenes of mutual sympathy, of kindness and thoughtfulness and self-forgetfulness and trust in trial, that now every day are enacted in every street, bringing the extremes of society together in holiest bonds, were then all but unknown. Such scenes are too rare among us, but still they exist, and in them we see the following out of the example of Christ.

Go abroad in some great city, in the night. Behold before you. Brightly shine the lights in that stately mansion where pleasure has collected her votaries. The dance, the song are there, and gay voices and exultant hearts and fair features that grow fairer in the excitement, and all goes merry as the marriage bell. And most natural and fitting is it that the hearts of the young should glow with vivid pleasure in the whirling and dazzling scene.

But here is but a part of the scene. At this very moment within sight of the brilliant windows, within the sound of the rejoicing music, sits in her dreary room, a widowed mother; and to her frame, consumption has brought its feebleness, and to her cheek its flush, and to her eye its unnatural light. Her

children sleep around her, and one that ever stirs with the low moanings of disease, slumbers fitfully in the cradle at her foot. Her debilitated frame craves rest, yet by the light of a solitary lamp, she still plies her needle that her children may have bread on the morrow. And while she labors through the lonely hours, her sinking frame admonishes her that this resource soon must fail them, and she be called away and leave her children alone. And while her heart swells with anguish, the sound of rejoicing comes on the wind to her silent chamber. Not one of all that gay circle whose eyes will not close before hers this night! One by one the wheels that bear them to their home depart, — the sounds of mirth and pleasure grow silent in the midnight hours, — the lights of the brilliant mansion are extinguished; but still from her chamber shines her solitary lamp. The dying mother must toil and watch!

All this in substance might have been seen before Christianity, in Athens or in Rome. But there is something more which may be seen every day in a Christian city. And it shows how Christianity has modified all social relations, softening the pride of the high, making those tempted to daily self-indulgence, self-forgetful, and giving hopes high as heaven to those that sit in the darkest places of earth.

With the morning, and brighter than its footsteps upon the mountains, behold one of that gay throng, in the bloom of youth and fitted to be the idol and the envy of gilded drawing rooms, has left her home, — she has entered the narrow lane, and opened the door of that obscure chamber. She has gone to sit with this poor widow, to carry her needed aid, to watch for her over her fretful child, and to whisper to her the sweet words of human sympathy. Blessed is she who can thus forget herself, and find her highest happiness in carrying happiness to those who sit unfriended and alone. And the heart of the lonely mother is warmed by her coming, — for blessed to the desolate is the fresh sympathy of the young and happy! She is no longer alone. They have a common hope. They can bend together before the same Father, they read the same gospel, they visit the cross together, and together watch at the tomb on the morning of the resurrection.

And when she is again left in her lonely chamber, she is not alone. As her visitor retires, grateful thoughts of human sympathies linger behind, like sunset in the air. The sense of God's kind providence rests on her soul. To her faith, the



distant are brought near, and the dead live, and await her coming to a better land. Her mind goes forward to the future. She rises above the clouds. Serenely shines the sun. Gently falls the love of God on her heart. Sitting amid trials and darkness and the ruins of earthly prospects, with calm spirit "she builds her hope in heaven." The prosperity, the adverse fortunes, the joy, the grief, all this might be seen in every age. It is Christianity that has brought sympathy to suffering, hope to the bereaved, and resignation to the afflicted; which has brought light to dark hours, and faith in heaven to those that dwell amid the sorrows of earth. It is Christianity that has softened and melted the ice of prosperity, which has smitten that rock and made it a fountain of living waters to those that dwell in the valleys below. It brings all classes together. The day-spring from on high, as it rises over the world, glances on every height, it illuminates every depth, it reveals all to each, and by its universal light shows all to be brethren living on the bounty of one and the same God.

We have thus endeavored to state some of the reasons that induce us to dwell on the character, rather than on the nature, of Christ. However important it may be to have a correct faith as to the nature of Christ, as to his metaphysical constitution, we deem it of infinitely higher moment that we should have just and abiding conceptions of his character. Through his character, as through a glass, not darkly, we see all those spiritual truths that it most concerns us to know. Through his character, (not his nature,) God, the moral governor, reveals himself. Through his character the spirit of truth and of heaven are made manifest. In his character we see the character of heaven,—that character towards which we must approach, and with which we must have a true sympathy, or the happiness of heaven cannot be ours. It is because of these reasons that we attach such importance to just ideas of the Savior's character. We deem them of as much more importance than mere speculations about his nature, as we deem a Christian character in ourselves of more importance than any metaphysical speculations about our own natures. The nature of Christ furnishes for us little except matter for metaphysical speculation: but his character is connected with our highest happiness on earth, and our holiest hopes of heaven. It is because of this, that the apostles dwell so much on the necessity of faith in Christ,—not faith in speculations about his



metaphysical constitution, not faith in some creed about his nature, but faith in that which is the glory and crown of his nature, faith in his moral excellencies, faith that he was the image and appointed manifestation of the Father, faith in his truth, faith in his character as the perfect standard of heavenly excellence.

Therefore they require faith in *Christ crucified*, because on the cross, from amidst its scorn and agony, from amidst the tumult of men below and the darkened heavens above, shone forth over the world that character with brightest beams.

Therefore would they ever carry us, not to his words alone, but to himself, — they would have us see him, follow him, as our benefactor, leader, Savior; as that star in the East, which moves on ever with steady light to guide us to salvation.

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#### ART. II. — THE CHRISTIAN CITIZEN.

It is an object of great interest and importance to inquire what is the duty of a religious man in regard to political subjects.

The quiet citizen, who pursues his own occupation without interfering in public matters, will find himself secure under any form of government. Whether an absolute prince governs his country, or whether its rulers are subject to the control of a majority of the people, he can still retain his rights, practise his profession, and reap its profits; merely yielding an obedience to the laws of the country which habit renders easy. He does his duty as an individual, and performs his part with as much faithfulness, whether he lives under a democracy or an autocracy. He is as happy as government can make him, as long as the laws preserve his property from violation. It is principally the restless and ambitious men who are, or wish to be, in public life, that are injured or troubled by oppressive forms of government.

A man, who thus pursues his own quiet path, is certainly far happier than he whose interest in public affairs keeps him constantly uneasy, because those who have the administration act

in opposition to what he believes to be right. Few, we believe very few, could be found who have derived any real happiness from political life. We are afraid there are few public men who are influenced by a pure love of their country. However honorable may have been their original motives, these motives are gradually lost sight of. The politician even when he thinks his motives are pure, is seeking his own aggrandizement, and, without his being aware of it, ambition and self-interest are gradually taking a stronger possession of him. He believes that in endeavoring to acquire popularity, or in forwarding the interest of his party, his only object is the welfare of his country. He soon finds, however, that those around him are seeking their own elevation under cover of public spirit, and he begins to doubt the existence of pure motives. There are others of a disposition naturally more selfish, who have so often expressed the disinterestedness of their views, that they have succeeded in imposing upon themselves. This is no theoretical or imaginary view, — it is fact.

In times of danger, men become excited by higher motives. Men of integrity desert their customary vocations, one mind kindles another, the contagion spreads, and the nobler and more disinterested feelings are aroused in every heart. Thus war, insurrection, revolutions, great evils as they are, afford the means of developing the best feelings of mankind; so true is it, that in this world there is no unmixed good or evil.

It must be conceded, then, that a man may be happier who minds his own concerns and does not trouble himself about public affairs. But does he discharge his duties to his fellow beings in so doing? Next to the duty he owes his Maker, it is his duty to promote the happiness of his neighbor as far as lies in his power. Next to his own family, his own countrymen and those immediately around him, his own townsmen come within this designation. The true Christian, however, is a citizen of the world. Every human being is his brother. He will not aim at the advantage of his family at the expense of his neighbor; neither can he aim at that of his own country, to the injury of another. The whole human race are his brethren. He is bound to do nothing that can injure any portion of it. Still, as it is natural and just that he should love his own family better than strangers, it is natural and just that he should love his own country better than a foreign one. This love of country will never justify him in abetting injustice to-

wards a foreign state. Herein is the difference between Christianity and patriotism. Patriotism existed in its fullest force in a state of barbarism. It is among the most barbarous nations of antiquity, that we find the most remarkable instances of this virtue. In the mind of the true Christian, therefore, philanthropy will take the place of patriotism. This is a truly Christian virtue, the other is a barbarous one.

Philanthropy will naturally be best exerted upon those most within its reach,—those nearest home. Our religion therefore does not require us to love our country less than the heathen patriot; it only demands that we should love other countries also, even those which may be at war with us. A man can never be justified in taking part in any war except a defensive one. He cannot throw the guilt upon his rulers. If they have involved the country in a war, theirs is the greater guilt, but each individual is a moral agent, and responsible for his own conduct.

But to bring the question more nearly home to us. What is the duty of the private citizen in this country, in regard to public affairs? Can he conscientiously avoid taking any part in them?

Every citizen has the privilege of voting at elections, and if well disposed and upright citizens think they may neglect this privilege, the danger is, that evil-minded and ill-disposed persons will obtain power, and that power will be perverted to answer their own ends, and strengthen themselves in office by rewarding their partisans. The property of the nation will thus become the plunder of party. One of the greatest dangers of a government, like ours, arises from the fact, that in the very nature of things, the most disinterested will be and are inclined to neglect this privilege or duty, and the most active are those who have most to hope for from the success of their efforts. It is therefore the indispensable duty of the Christian citizen never to neglect this right.

But is this sufficient? May he follow the party in which accident has placed him, put into the ballot box the vote placed in his hands, and retire to his office or his counting room, without further consideration of the subject?

Nowhere, we believe, is the spirit of party more powerful, more tyrannical, than in this land of boasted freedom. The man who dares on any occasion to act in opposition to his party, is branded with the most disgraceful epithets. Faithful-

ness to party is considered as synonymous with patriotism. It is sufficient to supply the place of other virtues, and to cover a multitude of sins. But is this as it should be? Ought not the statesman to have perfect liberty to do what he conscientiously believes to be for the good of his country, without regard to the opinion of his party? It is impossible that men can take the same views upon all subjects, and therefore every man ought to be allowed freely to express and freely to act upon those sentiments which he believes right, even if they be in accordance with those of the party to which he is in general opposed. He may, it is true, resign his opinion when he clearly sees that it is more for the ultimate advantage of his country that he should do so, upon any particular question, in order to promote union upon other subjects, or to avoid useless opposition; provided, however, that in so doing he does not countenance what is morally wrong. What we contend for, is, that an individual should not be subjected to obloquy, because he dares to support an opinion opposed to that of his party, or his party's leader. We are much mistaken if cases have not occurred of the most sincere and independent men being loaded with execrations, merely because they dared to think and act for themselves.

It is *not* sufficient that the citizen should put his vote into the ballot box. He must go further. He must know for whom he votes, and why he votes for him. Unless he has attended to the subject, and is convinced upon sufficient examination, that the candidate for whom he votes is the one best qualified for the office, he has not done his duty,—he had better have staid at home. And in this examination he must be careful that he is not carried away by party feeling, and that he does not give credit to the falsehoods to which currency has been given for party purposes. It deserves to be recollected, as an illustration of the extent to which party abuse is carried, that a writer in a German paper, some years since, remarked that it appeared from the American newspapers that the two greatest scoundrels in the United States were candidates for the presidency.

It may, however, be the duty of the citizen to give his vote for that candidate, whom he believes to be the best of those likely to be chosen; because otherwise his vote is thrown away, or may even go toward a majority against this candidate, preventing an election, and perhaps favoring the ultimate choice of the most objectionable.



There is one thing, however, we would most earnestly enforce, and we want language to enforce it with sufficient energy. This is, that every honest and upright man, every sincere Christian, shall labor to promote the elevation to office of those, who have not only the requisite talents for the station, but who are likewise men of pure and unexceptionable characters in private life. We are well aware that this is not in accordance with the received political doctrine. We know that a political and a religious man are considered almost as opposite characters; that political management has come to be considered another name for fraud and artifice.

It is the received opinion, too, the opinion acted upon, though not perhaps expressly avowed, that strict moral integrity is an obstacle in public life, and disqualifies a man for acting as the interest of his country or his party requires. It is a solemn fact that moral, and, above all, religious men, are unpopular as candidates for office. Those of somewhat latitudinarian views are preferred.

As long as such ideas prevail, we may well exclaim, "There is no hope for nations."

As long as the maxims of Machiavel and of Chesterfield are regarded with any respect, — as long as the *pensieri stretti* and *volto occulto*, in plain English, consummate hypocrisy, is considered as the necessary attribute of the statesman, there is no hope for nations. The only preservative of the liberty of a republic, most particularly, must be found in the moral and religious character of the people. The rulers must be men of pure and unexceptionable moral characters, and those who elect them must be pure. Can we firmly believe in the sincerity and public spirit of those who are faulty in private life? Can we look for disinterested devotion to their country in those who are governed by ambition or love of wealth? Will those men be careful to avoid injustice toward a foreign nation, or toward a rival in their own, who are not irreproachable in their conduct to their neighbors? What is still more to the purpose, — can we be sure of the honesty of the motives of any man, unless we know that he holds himself responsible to the Being who reads the secrets of all hearts, and that he makes the approbation of that Being the ultimate object of all his exertions?

Let it be known that moral and religious worth are the essential qualifications for high public station, and the subordinates in office will be encouraged in the practice of integrity.



Man is an imitative being; the majority of our race do not take the trouble to think and act for themselves; they take their ideas of right from those around and above them. Few people, we believe, are aware to how great an extent this is the case; how far every one of us, even the most independent, takes the tone of the circle in which he is placed, and adopts their ideas of what is right or wrong. Men in public office give the tone to those below them, and in proportion as they show their regard for religion, honor, and integrity, so will their subordinates. On the other hand, if they are led to believe that ambition or love of accumulation is the governing motive of those above them, they will hold themselves excused in the practice of peculation, and of vices and dishonesty, from which their superiors are secured by want of temptation. They observe those in higher office seeking their own interest instead of the public good; are they to blame if they seek theirs, especially as their necessities are greater? We would not pretend to say that those, who hold or have held public office in our country, are in habits of dishonesty; but we know that in all governments from the time of Henry the Fourth of France to the present, there have been, and are, means for public officers to accumulate to a greater or less degree according to their consciences; means too which are sanctioned by custom, and which only the most scrupulous hesitate to adopt.

But it is not this petty peculation which we have now in view, except as it leads to other immoralities. As long as office is sought for the sake of gain, the manner of obtaining it will not be regarded, nor the manner in which the duties of the office are discharged. The candidates will use their endeavors to retain their offices, by keeping those from whom they hold them, in power, and by obedience to their wishes. Every spring will be set in motion to operate upon those around them, to render them partisans of their leader, and all the devices of cunning and intrigue will be resorted to.

The statesman ought to possess a pure and disinterested love of his race, an entire freedom from selfish motives, which we believe none but a religious man can maintain in any situation, and under all circumstances. A person, who is governed by ambition or by passion, may show the greatest patriotic ardor so long as he is under the influence of excitement; and as long as he meets with the respect and observance he thinks due to

him. But if he meet with real or fancied injustice and ill treatment from his countrymen, his patriotism subsides. Such a man was Benedict Arnold. Another may appear a sincere patriot as long as his country is in danger, or as long as his zeal is kept on fire by motives for action. But as soon as the stimulus which has called it forth subsides,—as soon as his country is in the enjoyment of calm and quiet, his patriotism evaporates and selfish motives imperceptibly insinuate themselves into his mind. I repeat, then, there is none but the sincere Christian who can always be disinterested. What to him are power, wealth, or fame? The kingdom he aims at is above, and the power he covets is the government of himself.

But as long as it is the popular belief that the politician must be a man of somewhat latitudinarian views,—as long as it appears that the majority of statesmen are governed by ambition or by other interested motives, the most worthy men will cautiously avoid political life. They will be found engaged in the professions, in literature, or other useful and philanthropic pursuits.

In America, purity of political conduct ought to be found, if anywhere. “There is no hope for nations” if not for her. It is for her, especially, to abandon the crooked policy which, springing up in Italy, pervaded and disgraced the other nations of Europe for so many years, but which, we hope and trust, has now fallen into disrepute. Americans, and especially the descendants of the Puritans, ought to be the most forward in carrying purity of morals and straight forward honesty into the principles of legislation and diplomacy.

It cannot and it ought not to be concealed, that our institutions are in danger. They will probably last our generation; but whether many successive ones will see them unimpaired, is a subject of serious anticipation. We have supposed, as every other republic has done, that our government is immortal; that the causes, that produced the downfall of others, could do us no harm. But we have as yet seen only about sixty years of political existence. The republic of Rome endured between four and five hundred years. Those of Venice and Genoa several hundred years each. Athens was a republic five hundred years. Sparta from five to six hundred. Those republics fell and so may ours, unless we are watchful to avoid those dangers which threaten our institutions.

On the one hand, experience has proved that our constitu-

tion is susceptible of the utmost latitude of interpretation ; and who are to be its interpreters, its guardians ? On the other hand, we have been so often told that we are a free people—so often flattered upon our liberty, that we have begun to think that all legal restraint is a violation of the rights of man.

It behoves all who have influence ; it behoves our Fourth of July Orators most particularly, who have yearly sounded the praises of liberty, to teach us what liberty really is, and how it is distinguished from license :—to teach us that the inviolability of our institutions, and the stability and firmness of our laws, are the only secure foundations of liberty.

We have already spoken of the evils of party spirit. We believe them to be much greater than is generally supposed, since it leads men to view with jealous eyes whatever measures originate with their adversaries, and to adopt readily the views of their own leaders, without regard to the intrinsic excellency or soundness of either. It gives the leader of a party unbounded power ; and our free citizens shut their eyes and follow wherever he leads, all the while rejoicing in their own independence. All man-worship is dangerous to the liberty of a republic. We ought to be constantly watchful, to guard against the tendency of our own feelings, which incline us to give too much credit to our political friends, and to believe, too readily, what is told us to the disadvantage of our opponents.

There is one plan which we believe to be truly republican, and which is certainly the truly Christian course,—which we earnestly wish to see adopted. This is, that, as soon as a great political question, such as the choice of our first magistrate, is settled, hostilities should cease, and those who have been defeated, should lend their earnest and energetic support to their rulers. Thus, the truly honest men of the party, may aid with much greater effect in the promotion of every useful measure, and in the opposition to those they deem destructive. This would be true policy, and by allowing ill feelings to subside, it would facilitate the adoption of measures dictated by true wisdom, and by regard for the welfare of the whole country.

In England, it has always been the custom for the disappointed party to form an opposition to those in power ; hence it is regarded here as a matter of course. But in England it is a matter of little consequence. Their institutions are confirmed and sanctioned by time, and by a respect and veneration of ancient customs and usages, which have no existence here.

Hence, no important change could be effected suddenly in England, without producing a convulsion that would overturn the government. Whatever changes are made there, must be small and gradual. Here, the case is different. Changes, the most important, may be made,—statutes, institutions, customs overturned by a well organized party during their ascendancy, before the nation are aware of the importance of the changes. A chief magistrate at the head of a powerful party is absolute, since he has the power to interpret the Constitution as he pleases. It is said, indeed, that public opinion can never be ultimately wrong, and hence the will of the majority must in the end be right. There would be more force in this, if public opinion was always the aggregate of the free and unprejudiced opinion of every citizen : if we could be sure of always getting at the opinion of the majority, and that every one understood clearly the opinion he adopted. But this, as we have before said, is not the case. Owing to the lukewarmness of some, the prejudices of others, and the ignorance of others, the opinions which are expressed by the result of elections are often very different from what they would be if every one gave his vote, and understood the question upon which he voted. As it is, revolution and innovation being the order of the age, our country may be brought to the verge of ruin by schemes, the utility of which have never been proved ; and though public opinion is thus enlightened by experience, the knowledge is too dearly purchased. One of the greatest dangers to all, but more especially to republican institutions, is from a discontent with existing things. The love of improvement,—the wish for something better, is inherent in our nature. We know the evils of existing institutions ; but we do not know the evils of those which are untried ; nor can the wisest legislators foresee them. Time only can bring to light what is good, and what is bad. If new notions are hastily adopted, they must in their turn give place to others, or to the former order of things ; but these changes can seldom be made with impunity. On the other hand, if these new notions are not immediately acted upon, time will often show their ruinous tendency, or they will pass into oblivion, and public opinion will be enlightened without the cost of experience.

Upon this account, it is the duty of those public men who wish well to their country, to guard watchfully against the introduction of pernicious measures, no matter with whom they origi-



nate; and also to lend their support to such as they are satisfied are for the public good, with equal indifference as to their origin.

Connected with the subject of party spirit is that of local interests. It is deeply to be deplored that such interests should have assumed the importance which they have done. It is the duty of the honest legislator to withhold his sanction from any measures that will injure a portion of the country, however much it may contribute to the interest of his constituents, for the ultimate effect must be bad even to them, sanctioning the selfish views of others, and leading to disunion.

It is then the duty of the Christian Citizen to exercise his elective franchise upon all occasions where he has had opportunity to form his judgment; and if his talents and circumstances render him, in the opinion of his fellow citizens, a suitable person for public office, he has no right to hold back upon private motives. The man who does not wish for office—who has no wish but to do his duty, is the very man that is wanted. As far as can be done also, without noisy discussion, or giving rise to bad feelings, it may be the citizen's duty to give the reason for his conduct—to endeavor to convince those within his influence, that what he believes to be right is right. But he will cautiously avoid the turbulence and declamation of the demagogue.

If our citizens would all pursue the simple course we have laid down,—if every man would examine for himself, and coolly and dispassionately form his own opinion—or if he have not time, ability, or inclination so to do,—if he would simply avoid acting, a great many evils would be avoided. For although it is the positive duty of every man to vote, yet, we repeat it, he had better neglect this duty than perform it badly—that is, without knowing what he is doing, blindly following his party. How many men are there who act independently? How many men are there who think for themselves? Of those who believe they do so, how many are warped in their judgment by party prejudices, seeing with others' eyes?

Unfortunately, men always have been, and always will be led. The most active and bustling take the van, and carry hundreds and thousands with them, by an appeal, not to their reason, but to their passions. To a cool, disinterested observer it must be very amusing to listen to an orator at a caucus or town meeting: to observe how he works himself up into a high

fever of patriotism, to hear his overstrained expressions, his ardent professions, and then to turn to the audience, who are boiling over with a zeal which induces them to swallow and applaud everything, without a disposition to ask whether there is sense or truth in what they hear. There are no other themes so exciting as religion and politics; and having once taken our side in either, whether guided by chance or judgment, we are most of us easily carried away by an appeal to our prejudices. We believe that all that comes from our own side is true, just, and judicious, all that comes from our opponents, is false, unjust, unsound.

The free political institutions of our country depend for their duration upon the religious character of the people. I may say the existence of the country itself depends upon it. The Grecian, Roman, Venetian, and Genoese republics, besides being concentrated, and occupying a small extent of territory, were kept together by powerful passions, such as national pride and love of military glory, and at the same time restrained by severe and bloody laws. The Americans are perhaps the first people who can with truth be said to govern themselves. Our laws are mild, and depend, as well as our political institutions, upon public opinion for their support and enforcement. Unless, therefore, public opinion is guided by religious principle, our government can have no firm foundation. Our Union comprises such an extent of territory, and such diversities of interest, that nothing can keep it long entire but the disinterested philanthropy which religion inculcates.

It is in vain for a skeptic to say that a people may be moral without being religious. All the ideas of morality of our day are derived from the Christian religion. We have heard it said that the philosopher Hume, and in our own day Robert Owen and Frances Wright, were actuated by truly philanthropic and benevolent motives. This may be the case, but it was Christianity that first produced the enlightened state of public feeling in which all their ideas of morality originated. Morality is Christianity exemplified in action. The skeptic then wishes to remove the cause, and retain the effect; he wishes people to continue to act right, while he withdraws the motive for right action, much in the manner of the ignorant watchmaker, who should remove the spring from a watch, and expect the wheels to continue their regular motion. At the present day, those skeptics who bear the character of moral men, are men

who act, or appear to act, in accordance with religious principles, but who do not hold themselves responsible for their action to the Being who alone knows their hearts. Constitutional good temper, pride, or regard to appearances are their springs of action. These are uncertain and limited in their operation. They afford very little restraint to ambition, love of power or accumulation, or to other selfish interests. They do not promote or supply the place of the extended philanthropy and disinterestedness which the state of our country requires, and which it is the great object of Christianity—love to God and to man—to enforce.

Christianity is eminently republican, since it places all men upon the same level; but its grand effect is, that it renders every individual responsible to his Creator and his own conscience alone for his actions. In a community where religion had its full effect, all government might be dispensed with; since every one would act right with and labor to promote the public good without the restraint of law. On the other hand, in proportion as a community are free from religious restraint, they require that of law. A free government cannot long exist where the people are corrupt. Do we want an instance of a popular government not restrained by religious principle? We need look no further back than to the history of the French Republic.

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### ART. III. — SLAVERY.

It has frequently been the case in the discussion of important subjects, that, while extreme opinions on both sides have been maintained with great warmth, the truth, which indeed lay between, was neglected by both parties. Thus, it appears to us, has it been with the recent discussions upon the subject of slavery. While, on the one side, public attention has been called to slavery as an evil and a sin, and the duty of relinquishing it at once has been urged upon the Southern people, while, on the other side, the system has been advocated, as not only defensible but valuable, as identified with the rights and the interests of the Southern States, few or none have been found among the writers of the day, who have calmly viewed

it as an arrangement of human society, which, though imperfect and attended with great evils, is permitted by Providence to exist for a season, but which it is the duty of enlightened human beings to improve, so far as it may be susceptible of improvement, and, when circumstances shall permit, to abolish in a quiet and judicious manner, that other and better forms of social organization may then take its place.

To present the subject in this, which appears to us to be the correct point of view, is the design of this communication.

There is, throughout the world, a difference between the rich and the poor, the controllers and the controlled. Nor does this difference always correspond in practice with the name given it in theory. In many a log cabin of the South, the white man and his slave eat of the same coarse fare at the same coarse table. The one sleeps as comfortably as the other, the one works as hard as the other. To compare the difference between their conditions with that between the wealthier members of the Anti-Slavery Society and the white laborers in their streets, would give food for consideration. But let the difference in either case be compared with that between the Irish nobleman and his wild and starving tenantry, and it is seen to be far surpassed, while even this broad distinction would be exceeded by that which separates an Esterhazy from the thousands of his serfs.

And what, in each case, is the foundation of this difference? The right of property. "How," exclaims the Anti-Slavery reformer, "property in man!" If one is born to the gratification of every wish, and to the use of more money than he can either spend or waste, while a thousand of his neighbors are born to semi-starvation — this is the order of society, founded on the sacred rights of property; it must not be disturbed; away, ye rash levellers, who would interfere with it! But if, while one possesses the means of living in a simple and moderate manner, without manual labor, some twenty or thirty others work under his direction, and in return have abundant food and clothing, with kind treatment in health, and every attention in sickness; this is too much for modern philanthropy to bear. The idea of *right*, of *property*, as connected with such an abominable state of things, is spurned indignantly; and all the bad epithets of the English language are applied profusely to the monster who prefers feeding and clothing himself and his slaves to starving himself, and sending them forth to starve.



Turn not from our page, indignant reader! We are no friends to the slave system. We possess no slaves, and we trust, never shall, though we can imagine motives of kindness which might induce us to assume the relation of master. We are opposed to slavery, however; but we do not think it necessary to shut our eyes, or refuse our pen to truth and common sense, on whatever side of the subject they may appear to lie. In the preceeding remarks we have appeared to countenance slavery, by comparing it with those institutions which the world generally acknowledges as proper to be maintained. May not a different construction be put upon our language, by supposing that we disapprove these institutions, this vast difference between rich and poor, as involving evils kindred to those of slavery itself?

"What," it is replied, "you are an Agrarian. You would have all property at once equally divided. You would have the rich all beggared, and the poor all intoxicated with sudden wealth." Excuse us. Such is not our principle. Between the opinions, we have fancied to be ascribed to us, is our real position. We regard slavery as one in a series of imperfect arrangements, which for a time must be endured, but which enlightened men and Christians ought to be doing their best to improve, temperately, gradually, peaceably, and with good nature; arrangements too, which are yielding, with more or less rapidity, before the influence of science and of the Christian religion.

In a savage state, men are all equal. In emerging from this state, talents and industry, or less worthy causes, create differences of station. Certain possessions, which were at first common, become guarantied to individuals. One acquires by force or cunning an ascendancy over others, and becomes a master over slaves, or a chief over followers, or a king over subjects. As civilization advances, these distinctions increase, till some few, most aspiring and most successful, have reached the highest point of wealth and power. The difference between these, and the individuals at the foot of the hill, is now of course greatest. But a change now ensues. The lowest, who have not yet risen, begin to rise. The highest can rise no higher, and begin to fall, or at least remain stationary, while others approach their level. Civilization now advances with rapidity. It is no longer the civilization of the few, but of the many. Its tendency is to restore equality; and if we could

look for perfectibility in man, this would be the result. But though entire equality is neither possible, nor, as man is constituted, desirable, it may appear on examination, that a much nearer approach to it may and will be made, than is generally anticipated. Wide as the distinctions are which yet exist in New England, there prevails in the Northern States more of equality, than could have been conceived of by an enlightened man of the sixteenth century, as reconcilable with the good order of society. And there was more of equality existing in England then, than would have been thought safe by the barons who extorted Magna Charta from King John. Society is improving. We cannot decide how far it shall improve, but far be it from us to mark as unalterable the limits it has now attained, to say to the human mind, and to the spirit of liberty, "Thus far shall ye go, and no farther."

It is very evident, however, that if society be thus indefinitely improvable, the process to which it should be subjected, must be a gradual one. It must keep pace with the progress of knowledge. It is thus that the most important advances have been made. It is thus that the only solid conquests have been gained. The cause of liberty has advanced in England ever since the iron days of William the Conqueror. The exceptions to this general assertion are to be found in those instances where improvement had been carried beyond the capacity of the age to bear, and where a retrograde movement necessarily followed. Thus the triumphs of the barons and people, who placed Henry the Fourth upon the throne, led to the anarchy of the "Wars of the Roses," and eventually to the despotism of the Tudors. Thus the premature revolution, which deprived Charles the First of his life, resulted in the single sway of Cromwell, and afterwards in the worse tyranny of Charles the Second. Where the progress of liberty was most gradual, there it was most sure. In the hard struggles under John and Henry the Third, the people gained little at a time, but what they gained they kept. That, which the sudden energy of the people failed to accomplish in their short-lived commonwealth, has been attained, or is in the course of attainment, in a series of deliberate and majestic movements, the revolution of 1688, — the establishment of the Hanoverian line in place of the Stuarts; the American Revolution, which had its effects in England as well as here, — and those great triumphs of the people, by which our own day has been distin-

guished. France has commenced a similar course. A sudden change from despotism to perfect freedom, was tried, and failed. The result was a retrograde movement to a despotism almost worse than the former. Then commenced a more silent, gradual, and certain progress in the establishment of the charter, in the exercise of the rights which that charter recognised, and at length, as in England, in the solemn deposition of the unworthy reigning family, and the choice of another, whose right to govern should be founded on the public interest and the public will.

With so much of the history of mankind before us, — and other illustrations might be furnished, — can we doubt the truth of the principle, that improvement to be lasting, must be gradual? Can we doubt it, when we reflect on the nature of society, as made up of individuals? Though some leading minds may go centuries before their age, they are bright exceptions to human nature in general. We cannot with any certainty speculate far on the effect of institutions which we have not seen; and if we place ourselves under such institutions, since we know nothing of them from previous experience, we do not trust them; even if they operate moderately well, which is scarce to be expected, their faults attract more notice than their excellencies, and we desire to go back to the good old way, as we fancy it, with the conveniences as well as the evils of which we are familiar. Thus it is with the majority of men. The experiment of a thorough and immediate revolution is too great for them. They could see one new wheel at a time put into the social machine, and watch its operation with interest and with calmness; but when the whole fabric is torn in pieces, and new and unknown powers are introduced in its place, they are dazzled, bewildered, rendered incapable of calm judgment, and if the new machine for a moment works wrong, they hasten in terror, to rear again the fragments of that which has been destroyed, preferring it, with all its faults, to that which has occupied its place.

In the American Revolution, the fabric of social order in this country received very little change. The institutions of the respective States experienced scarce any alteration, and the general government, being constituted on the well known model of the provincial assemblies, appeared from the very moment of its establishment a familiar thing. In the French Revolution all was different. The nation knew nothing of directories or as-

semblies, understood them not, and had no confidence in them. One thing they did understand. That was despotism, and they went back to that as soon as possible.

The social system, then, is indefinitely improvable ; but its improvement must be gradual in order to be permanent. The evils that exist in the social system are to be viewed with reference to these principles. Imperfect forms of social order are to be regarded, not as absolute evils, but as relative. Limited monarchy is better than despotism ; it is not so good, we believe, as republican government. A state of war is far worse than one of peace and comfort ; but many think it preferable to a state of oppression ; and the more so, because war is in its nature temporary, while unresisted oppression perpetuates itself. Thus too, slavery, as it exists in the United States, is a relative evil. It is far better than slavery as it has existed elsewhere ; for instance, among the Romans, whose slaves might, at the will of the master, be obliged to murder or be murdered as gladiators in the circus ; it is bad in comparison with the form of domestic servitude which exists in the large cities of the north. And it may be found a century hence, that *this* domestic servitude is also relatively bad. Nay, it has been so decided throughout the interior of New England, for there the "help," who takes her seat with the family at the board which she has but assisted in preparing, is a very different person from the domestic of the city.

Christianity is in harmony with nature and reason, on this as on every subject. The Savior and his Apostles touch not the subject of slavery, except in enforcing the great duties of justice and benevolence towards all, and in pointing out the relative obligations of master and slave, under the existing state of things. But these precepts, and the general spirit of Christianity, first rendered the treatment of those in bondage more lenient, and afterwards gradually abolished the system throughout southern and western Europe. Such, we trust, will be the result of Christian feelings and principles, brought to bear upon this subject, in our own land.

How then may the slave system be ameliorated, and what hope is there of its ultimate removal, to give place to a better order of society ? To answer these questions intelligently, we must examine the nature and extent of the evils we wish to remedy. What then is slavery in the United States ?

Among the inhabitants of our country, there exist three mil-



lions, or upwards, of a different race from the rest, and bearing the marks of distinction most obviously and indelibly. Of these, about two hundred and fifty thousand are, at least, nominally free. The great mass, however, forming the chief laboring population of the south, are under the authority of white masters, and are regarded by the laws of their respective states in a mixed character. The law extends to them protection in life and limb against their owners, as against others; but it sanctions their transfer from one to another master, by the forms of sale, gift, or bequest, and in so far regards them as property. To secure for them humane treatment, some regulations have been made by the legislatures of certain states,—as for instance, those establishing a minimum allowance of food. We have seen such a law extracted from the statute book, and held up to view, apparently to produce the impression that this *minimum* allowance was all that the slaves usually received! Generally speaking, however, the law in the Southern States interferes but little between the parties. Theirs is regarded as a domestic relation, and the servant is considered as better protected by the united interest and good feelings of his owner, than he could be by numerous laws, which must either be inoperative, or enforced through an odious system of domestic espionage.

As to the working of this system, the account, we are about to give, is derived from a long residence in the remoter Southern States. We shall present the result of our own experience and inquiries; and if they agree not in any respect with those of others, the candid reader will prefer that statement which seems most consistent with the common principles of human nature.

Our decided impression then is, that the slaves are, *generally speaking*, treated well in regard to food, discipline and attention to their outward comfort. They are not overworked; they have a sufficiency of wholesome food. The punishments inflicted on them, or rather on the indolent and disorderly *among* them, are neither of frequent occurrence, nor of extreme severity; and not being accompanied with any feeling of deep disgrace, produce no permanent suffering. In the transfer of a slave by sale, or in letting out his services by the year, the servant is frequently allowed to find a master for himself, and most owners would scruple to place a domestic under the care of one to whom the individual expressed a decided objection.

It is the impression at the South alike among all classes, that persons from the North are less kind as owners, than those

brought up from childhood among the Southern community. If it be so, the fact can readily be explained, without supposing any difference in natural good feeling between the citizens of these two sections. It is certain that there exists at the South very little of that personal prejudice against the colored race, which in New England is terror in the child, and loathing in the adult.

We have spoken of the general good treatment of the slaves, would that we could assert it to be without exception. But where the control of the master is so unlimited, it is evident that abuse of power is possible, and from what scripture and reason teach us of human nature, instead of wondering that power is sometimes exercised amiss among slave-owners, there is cause, great cause, why we should wonder that this abuse is not far more common.

That it is *possible*, is one chief evil of the system. Nor is it of much avail to say in its defence, that, though no law can reach the offenders, they are punished by public opinion. Public opinion is too often swayed in its judgment, or at least prevented from expressing itself effectually, by the wealth or station of the offender; and there are many in every community, who are thoroughly hardened against its influence.

In speaking of the abuses which the slave system permits, we refer not chiefly to such atrocious instances as brave the vengeance of the law. We have in view rather the permission, the possibility of harsh treatment, not affecting the life, but very materially interfering with the happiness of the individual. Such is certainly sometimes to be met with, and though the community around may be acquainted with the facts, and indignant at them, yet the case must be extreme which would be thought to justify interference. It is true that instances of cruelty are occasionally heard of in the Northern States, on the part of masters towards apprentices, and teachers towards pupils; but the apprentice or the pupil has a protector in his parent or guardian. The master himself is at the South regarded as the protector of his slave. If he abuse his trust, the task of restraining him is too much divided among those around, for any one to feel much responsibility in the matter.

But there may be a worse abuse than that of cruelty. It is a horrible thought, that throughout a large portion of our country, a crime, which elsewhere would bring its perpetrator to the gallows, is virtually legalized, by the absence of any efficient

restraint upon the will of the master. We believe the crime referred to is of exceedingly rare occurrence, — but it is so, because rendered superfluous by the moral degradation of the slaves :

“For seldom monarchs sigh in vain.”

The separation of families at the will of their owners is an evil of no uncommon occurrence in the Southern States. And it is an evil which, in our view, would probably before long, be corrected, but for the misdirected, though well-meant, efforts of the immediate abolitionists. This evil is not a necessary part of the slave system, any more than the absolute control of the Roman master over the life of his bondsman. That odious feature has been removed by Christianity ; and in our opinion, the principles of Christianity exist in the South in sufficient strength to remove the other evil, if appealed to in a proper manner. But the abolitionists have attempted too much. They strive to change the fundamental institutions of society in the South at once. The Southern people knowing that this is impossible, and if possible, would be ruinous, place themselves in the attitude of conservatism. They will not give up one point, because they are summoned in no gentle terms to give up all. But let the evil, the horrible evil of this one practice be even yet presented before them in a fitting manner, and we have faith enough in human nature to believe that it will not long be permitted, either by the laws, or the moral sense of the Southern community.

The evil we refer to is, — not that a youth of sufficient age to dispense with the immediate care of his parents, may be separated from them, — for this might be the case, whether he were bond or free ; it is not that families may be compelled to move together, to follow their masters, they know not whither ; for though there may be suffering caused by this, the will of the master is not more despotic than the circumstances which often compel families in higher stations to emigrate to some distant part of the land ; — but it is that man interferes to put asunder those whom God has joined together, the husband and the wife, — and that in so doing he violates the law of nature, and that of Christianity. It is in vain to reply to this that no valid marriage can exist between slaves. The laws of the white man do not recognise any such marriage indeed, that is, they give no sanction, no protection to the tie, — and this is the very

root of the evil. But no law, as far as we have understood, has gone so directly counter to scripture and common sense, as to declare that the connexion of a colored man and woman, recognised by the parties in presence of a clergyman, with the usual forms, has any thing criminal in it. The law has let this subject entirely alone. It has only failed to give its sanction to the law of nature and of the Bible. But who can doubt that those who sanctify their permitted union in the best manner they are allowed, are, in the sight of God joined in marriage! What minister of the Gospel ever refused to sanction such a marriage by his performance of the ceremony! Conceive the master present on such an occasion. He hears the parties pronounced to be man and wife. He hears the words, "whom God hath joined together, let not man put asunder." His own consent has been previously asked and obtained. His own presence has sanctioned the contract. A week, or a year, or two years afterwards, he sees occasion to sell the husband to a trader who is going to Texas. Is the master innocent? The law of man does not condemn him. But what says the law of God?

It is no sufficient answer to say, that the negroes themselves do not consider these contracts permanently binding. In the first place, the assertion is not universally, nay not even generally true. There are many pious and intelligent slaves, who would as deeply feel the sin of a voluntarily separation from their chosen partners, as the most conscientious of their superiors. In the second place, this idea among the negroes, of which more hereafter, results solely from their perceiving how lightly their marriage ties are estimated by their owners; and the owners cannot plead one of the melancholy effects of their own wrong as an excuse for it. In the third place, the question is not what the slaves think of their marriages, but what God thinks of them. The law of marriage, given in nature and the Bible, is no more in the power of the slave to alter, than of his owner.

As to the miserable subterfuges, that husbands and wives among the slaves do not treat each other kindly, — do not feel their separation, — are often happier apart, — they are not worth answering. What have pretences like these to do with a plain question of Christian duty?

"But the slaves will form new connexions in their new homes." And what name does the Scripture give to such new connexions? Adultery. And who is chiefly responsible for



this crime ; the ignorant slave who commits it, or his master, who has exposed him to the almost irresistible temptation ? It may be said that the removal has effected a divorce. To us, this appears to contradict the language of our Savior ; — but admitting its truth, though it may exculpate the slave, does it not transfer the whole weight of accountableness to the master ?

We know that there are many among our brethren of the South, who feel as we do on the subject of this great abuse of power. We know there are still more, — we trust a large majority of the slave-holding population, who would have no part in the crime of separating husband and wife. But this is not enough. The thing is yet done, done publicly, and without remedy in law. It ought to be remedied in a country where the Gospel is received as the rule of life. It can be remedied without affecting the other parts of the slave system. All that is necessary is, to legalize the marriages of slaves. Let a license be given in writing by the master, or masters. Let the marriage be solemnized by a clergyman, a magistrate, or any neighboring planter, whose duty it shall be to preserve this license with his own return upon it. Then let the law provide such penal sanctions as may be thought fit, for the security of the rights which it has thus recognised. Is it said that this would be admitting that the slave is something more than property ? It is too late to object against such an admission. The question upon which abolitionists and slaveholders have wasted much time, and exhibited much mutual passion, is settled by those laws which guarantee the safety of the slave in life and limb. If his life be secured by law, why not his domestic relations ? If you guarantee to him, by penal enactment, a certain quantity of food, why may you not secure to him the enjoyment of a union, formed with his master's consent, and sanctioned by the laws of God and nature ?

Another evil, to which we must advert, is the intellectual and moral degradation of the colored race. Though perpetuated and increased by the slave system, this degradation includes the nominally free colored people, at least in the South. It is obvious, then, that emancipation alone would not at once remove this evil. We believe rather, that, for a time at least, it would increase it. This opinion is grounded on the notorious fact, that the free blacks in the Southern States are less moral, less worthy, generally speaking, than the slaves. We

know indeed, honorable exceptions, but few who have resided at the South, will question the general correctness of this statement. And it is perfectly natural that a class unfitted for liberty, no longer feeling the restraint of an owner's authority, yet not admitted to that rank where they would feel the restraint of an enlightened public opinion, should exhibit more looseness of conduct than in their former state of bondage. But the elements of this degradation should be examined more in detail.

1. *Ignorance.* It is known that the laws of most Southern States prohibit the instruction of the slave in reading and writing. This restriction is considered necessary, to prevent the acquisition of that power, which would result from a knowledge of their own strength, and of that wish for liberty, which increases with increasing intelligence. It is considered, by those who impose it, a restriction not less required by the true interests of the colored people, than by that of the whites. We are not prepared either to admit or deny the propriety of this view, if the slave system be regarded as permanent in its character; but if that system is destined gradually to pass away, few will question that the instruction of the future freedmen should at once receive attention.

2. *Mental Imbecility.* Highly as all intelligent minds must appreciate the knowledge communicated by books, the education, which gives such knowledge, is not the *most* valuable. A man, who has never learned to read and write, may yet be happy, virtuous, useful, and in his station respectable. A more valuable education than in reading and writing is that which consists in the development of their own powers. Let the individual feel that he is a man, — that he has a station to fill, for the discharge of whose duties he is responsible not only to his fellow-mortals, but to his own conscience. We leave out of view for the present, the idea of religion; but he who does not feel this self-reference, who works merely because another's eye is on him; and has no consciousness of a character to acquire or to support, is a child, however many years he may have lived; — he is a creature of momentary impulse, and that only of an inferior kind; he is unsuited to take care of himself. The manliness of character which he needs, is usually acquired by free persons through an intercourse with the cares and requirements of life. There is another way in which it may be gained, — through the influence of religion. The feeling of re-

sponsibleness to a higher power more than neutralizes the degrading effect of subjection to a fellow-mortal, and the slave, who discharges his daily task faithfully though no eye be upon him, because it is the duty of the station in which God has placed him, is a MAN, spite of his condition, in all the dignity of human nature. Such an individual is prepared for freedom. He might need, it is true, on being emancipated, some practical directions as to the course he should pursue in a mode of life, in which he has thus far had no experience; but he is already furnished with the principles which, in any situation, will guide him safely in the end. The individual then is the better prepared for freedom, the more faithfully, contentedly, and in a religious spirit, he discharges the duties of the slave. And on the other hand, it will readily be admitted, that the more of the spirit of the intelligent freeman he brings to his labor, the more he works as a *man*, and the less as a *machine*, the more valuable he will be to his master. The unavoidable conclusion is, that the practical and religious education of the slave ought to be substantially the same, whether he is intended to be ultimately emancipated, or whether the system of bondage is to be perpetual. In either case he should alike be taught to look beyond the authority of his master to that of Providence, by which his lot in life has been cast, to listen to the voice of conscience and obey its dictates. He should be taught, as a man, to respect himself, and, as a religious being, to reverence his God. Let the planter encourage this development of character in his dependant, especially if he looks forward to the time, when that dependant will become a free man. Let him in this case, be gradually entrusted with a responsibleness, part of that which he must in future bear. Let the comfort of his aged parents and young children, depend in some degree on his industry. Any change indeed must be made with caution, and the kindness of the master must ward off any serious ill consequences which might arise from the slave's neglect of his new duties; but as far as possible let the domestic relations be restored to that condition of mutual dependence which God appointed; let the man feel that he is working, not only for his master, but for his own family.

3. But the *moral degradation* of the colored race is a sadder theme than their intellectual debasement. The prominent vices of slaves are theft, meanness, deception, treachery, and licentiousness. We shall speak only of the most important

of these, the last. The utter disregard with which the law treats the marriage of slaves has produced the effect which was to be expected. No uniformity exists among them as to the mode of instituting that relation. Sometimes the white clergyman is called on for that purpose, sometimes a colored preacher or class-leader officiates, and often the parties give themselves to each other without any ceremony at all, but without any consciousness of wrong. Of course the views, which the slaves take of their connexion, differ much according to their degrees of intellectual and religious light. Some, we trust the majority, reverence the tie, as one that is to endure through life. Others regard it as merely a contract entered into for such time as may be agreeable to both parties. Christian planters have found it difficult to convince their slaves that there was anything wrong in their custom of divorcing and marrying again at pleasure. How can it indeed be otherwise, while their marriages are treated with utter contempt by the law of the land! How can the law of God be revered among them, when they know that their masters have the power to set it aside at pleasure? Of course the slaves, who take this low view of marriage, are not likely, even while their temporary contracts continue, to set a very high value on mutual fidelity; and the result is frequently what would be denounced in a more enlightened community as highly criminal, but what among them seems to be practised with but little consciousness of sin. We judge them not, either to acquit or condemn; but if ignorance, and the want of a legal sanction to marriage be to any degree their excuse, does not the responsibility for their conduct devolve to the same extent on those who have the power to instruct them, to secure them in their domestic rights, and to reprove and punish them for unfaithfulness?

We have said that moral degradation, though perpetuated and increased by the slave system, extends beyond the limits of those actually in bondage. There exists in the Southern cities, a class larger or smaller, of free blacks and mulattoes. We will spare our readers the painful detail of the state of morals too often prevalent among these; but in view of such facts as are known to exist, the prudish cant about "amalgamation" becomes ridiculous indeed; and scarce less ridiculous is the denunciation, in which the abolitionists indulge, against the Colonization Society, which offers to rescue the young colored female from imminent danger of moral ruin.



We believe that a powerful influence would be exerted collaterally upon this class,—the free blacks,—by the sanction of law being given to the marriage relation among the slaves. They are portions of the same community. They mix freely together; they are connected with each other in all the relations of life. Whatever then would give more of virtuous pride to the female slave, would indirectly affect in the same manner the free woman of color; and the masters of the South, in securing by law the domestic rights of their servants, might find a blessing in return, in the improved character of that class which now presents the means of criminal indulgence to their sons.

We have thus given our views of the true character and evils of slavery, not denouncing any, but prepared, should such be our lot, to be denounced by both the great parties between which we occupy the middle position. How are these evils to be remedied?

Not by immediate emancipation. That would at least double every ill under which the slave suffers. As to his physical treatment, the discipline exercised over him is in general mild, because the *name* of slave, the habit of submission in that character, the long admitted exercise of power by the master, retain him in the fulfilment of his duty. If these be removed suddenly, how shall the ignorant crowd of freed-men be governed? By the whipping-post, the bayonet, and the gallows! No system of police, which could be now devised and put in immediate operation, would be equally energetic, yet equally lenient with that exercise at present. No. When emancipation takes place, let the name of slave, and the magistracy of the proprietor, be the last vestiges of the system to be abolished. And as to the moral interests of the colored people, is it thought these will be advanced by depriving them of the moral restraint to which they are now subject, before they are fitted to appreciate any other?

The evils of slavery cannot be cured by Colonization, unless means can be found to transport to Africa tens of thousands every year, and sustain them there, to reimburse the southern planters for their loss, and transport *them* also to other sections of the country, since the Southern States would of course be ruined by the entire and sudden removal of their laboring population. The thing is impossible. Great injustice has been done to the Colonization Society, by the ideas of some

among its most sanguine members having been mistaken for the objects which the society as a body has always consistently proposed to itself. Those objects are noble, and nobly have they been pursued. To afford a home for such of our free colored people as desire to be free in deed as well as in name, — to interpose a barrier to the slave trade, — to prepare a place to which, in the event of a general emancipation, thousands of the more restless and energetic, whose presence might be dangerous here, will voluntarily emigrate, to commence the civilization of Africa, — and to show the world what the colored race can do under favorable circumstances, — these are objects, sufficient to occupy all the exertions of the society, and worthy of more liberal patronage than they have received.

The evils of slavery must then be remedied, if at all, gradually ; by the amelioration of the system, — by voluntary emancipation, — and, above all, by the influence of the Gospel on the hearts both of masters and slaves.

*Amelioration.* One subject especially has been pointed out, with regard to which this is practicable, and in which a change is demanded at the hands of the southern people by the laws of nature and of God, by humanity, justice, their own best interests and those of their children. We mean the conferring a legal recognition and an efficient penal sanction upon the marriages of the slaves. Let it be no longer possible for any one to separate those whom God has joined together, and pass unpunished for the offence. Had not the mistaken zeal of the abolitionists aroused all the pride and all the passions of the southern people, this subject would scarce need to be more than named, in order to lead to vigorous action on their part. And even now, humble as is the voice which addresses them, and though he who utters it, — who has experienced their warm hospitality, and loves and honors them, — may be supposed to have “become their enemy, because he tells them the truth,” he cannot but hope that it may find an answer in some native southern hearts, and lead this important subject to be advocated with native southern energy.

Other improvements in the slave system might perhaps be pointed out, but we will not enlarge upon them, convinced that if this one grand evil engage seriously the attention of the southern community for its removal, all else that can be done in the same cause, will in due time and order be accomplished.

*Gradual and voluntary emancipation.* It is the opinion of

many among the most profound in judging of the progress of events, that the slave system, right or wrong, justifiable or unjustifiable, cannot last, that it is wearing away, and must soon in some way cease to be. They reason, that the feelings of nearly the whole civilized world are against it ; — that its spirit is in direct opposition to that which animates our republican institutions ; that the free laborer can in general effect more than the slave ; and that as the country becomes filled and the price of labor diminishes, this difference will become more and more perceptible. We believe it was the late John Randolph who foretold the time, when, instead of masters advertising their runaway slaves, slaves would advertise their absconded masters. If this result is approaching, it becomes the southern people to contemplate and prepare for it. Their existing laws against emancipation may sustain the system longer, but if emancipation comes at all, these laws will render the shock far greater to them or their descendants. When the southern people shall determine to regard slavery as something which must at length pass away, their course will be plain. On the one hand, by the repeal of all their laws against emancipation, they will permit that to be done gradually and in individual instances, which would be ruinous, if effected at once. On the other hand, by the most efficient system of police, they will guard against any disturbance, either by the newly emancipated, or by the remaining slaves. Then, too, the propriety of educating the future freed-men will be generally admitted, and schools for the blacks will be encouraged rather than restrained. When these things are done, the country will need no action of Congress, — no sale of the public lands, scarce indeed any further action by the legislatures of the respective states. Individual benevolence and individual exertion, more powerful than governments or societies, will gradually and in the best manner, accomplish the liberation of the colored race, as they long since overthrew the system of feudal slavery in Europe.

But even if the view above presented be false, — if slavery may remain for ages, and if it be thought right that it should remain, our previous argument in favor of the amelioration of the system to the greatest possible extent is unimpaired, nay, rather strengthened ; for there is more need to improve a system which is to remain, than one which is to be destroyed.

And alike, whether slavery is to continue or to pass away, the duty of providing thorough, rational, and practical relig-

*ious instruction* for the colored people is incumbent upon their masters. If freedom is to be their lot, by the principles of the Gospel will they best be prepared for freedom. If they are to remain in bondage, the principles of the Gospel will make them better and more useful servants, will cheer and sustain them in their lowly lot, and keep them from repining at what they must acknowledge as the disposal of Providence, while, in either case, their eternal interests require this care at the hand of those who alone are able to bestow it. Much has already been done in this holy cause. The churches of the South have not been insensible to the claims of the slave population. But much yet remains to be done. While facilities for religious improvement are multiplied, care is to be taken, that, in the influence exerted, the warmth of pious feeling should be accompanied by correct, practical, and simple views of duty. The Christian master should feel that his responsibility is great. It is not in his power to change by his single will the institutions of his country, but it may be his, by a judicious exertion of the influence he possesses, to aid in modifying and improving those institutions. He is forbidden, not less by the true interest of his domestics than by his own, to resign prematurely that control over them, which implies the duty of protection on his part, no less than that of obedience on theirs; but while he retains the station in which providence has placed him, let him remember its calls to exertion and to watchfulness. Human beings, with souls immortal as his own, look to him not merely to secure their outward comfort, but to furnish them the means of moral and religious advancement. The policy of his state debars them from reading for themselves the book of God. They must receive its sacred truths through him, or through those whom he may authorize to declare them. His servants look to his example as their guide; they catch insensibly his very gait, his modes of expression; — his faults then or his virtues will be copied into their characters. Happy is the Christian master who feels these things, — who, as in scenes which we have witnessed, kneels in the midst of his attached domestics, and teaches them to join him in the feeling, that, “one is their Master, even Christ.” Happier still, when at length he shall feel prepared to resign that guardianship over them, which he has conscientiously exercised, and admit them to the full enjoyment of freedom — secure that they understand its duties, and will not abuse its opportunities.



ART. IV. — *Esprit de la Legislation Mosaique.* Par J. E. CELLERIER, fils, Professeur d'Exegese, de Critique, et d'Archiologie Bibliques, dans la Faculté de Theologie de l'Academie de Geneve.

*Spirit of the Mosaic Laws.* By J. E. CELLERIER, the younger, Professor of Exegesis, Sacred Criticism and Antiquities, in the Faculty of Theology of the Academy at Geneva, Switzerland. In 2 vols. 8vo. Geneva and Paris. 1837. pp. 354 and 359.

THE Unitarian scholars of this country, who have watched the progress of the Reformation at Geneva in our own day, are not unfamiliar with the name of Cellerier. Cellerier the elder has long been known as an eloquent preacher and a devoted pastor; and men have looked up to him as a beautiful pattern of Christian piety and benevolence. His professional fame abroad rests chiefly upon his four volumes of printed Sermons. He is now far advanced in years, and in a fresh old age is beginning to enjoy the rich rewards of a good and useful life, in the reverence and affections of all who know him. His son, the author of the work, whose title stands at the head of this article, inherits the talents and virtues of the father. He is celebrated as one of the leading divines of the Genevan Church—as an eminent scholar and writer—and especially as Professor in the Department of Biblical Criticism in the Academy of Geneva—an institution founded by Calvin, and throughout its history boasting among its Professors a long catalogue of illustrious names. Cellerier the younger has published several volumes of critical Theology, and is therefore more extensively known abroad than Cellerier the elder.

The Celleriers and Cheneviere, successors to the chair of Calvin, stand out prominent amongst that noble band of Genevan Reformers, who have risen up in the nineteenth century to complete the Reformation begun in the sixteenth—carrying out to their legitimate results those two great principles of the Reformation—the sufficiency of the Scriptures, as a guide of life, and the unlimited right of private judgment in religion. They have been everywhere spoken against; they have been surrounded by the champions of Calvinism mourning over their defection from the faith once delivered to Calvin; the strong holds of orthodoxy in Europe have opened upon them their

batteries of denunciation and abuse. But the bold and free spirit, that once breathed through the lives of their fathers, still lived in their souls. They had been taught to defy bulls and anathemas, whether fulminated by Popes, Councils, or Churches. They felt that more light was yet to break forth from God's holy word. Truth, they believed, was progressive in its nature, and they knew of no modern Joshua empowered to bid the advancing luminary stand still. They have labored, with a Christian zeal, and none the less fearlessly for opposition and reproach, to reform the old theology—to expose its gross errors and corruptions—to disseminate more just and rational principles of sacred criticism. Through evil report and good report they have struggled to advance the cause of a more pure and liberal Christianity, that shall be in harmony with reason and nature, and commend itself to the attention of that growing class on the Continent, who are obliged to take up with the miserable alternative of open infidelity, or an acquiescence in doctrines essentially incredible. Nor have their labors and sacrifices been in vain. There is hardly a church now in the city or canton of Geneva, that is not Unitarian—not one, we believe, of the Establishment. It is true, this wonderful regeneration of the traditional faith in a spot, once the seat of Calvin's power, and the metropolis of the Reformation, was not the work of a day. It was commenced more than a century ago by the writings of some of the more learned and liberal-minded divines of Geneva. Through the whole of the eighteenth century it was silently advancing. The Catechism of Calvin, that was taught in the schools, gradually fell into disuse, and was superseded by one better suited to the improved state of religious inquiry. The Pastors of the Genevan Church preached only on those essential doctrines of the Gospel, to which all Christians could subscribe. In a true spirit of Christian love, they wished above all things for peace, and carefully kept aloof from angry controversy as long as possible. And it is not till within the last ten years, that they have been forced to depart from their former anti-controversial policy, and take up the weapons of Theological warfare in self-defence.

The late controversy, with the writings both critical and doctrinal which it has called forth, has served to make the views of Unitarians better understood and more widely known, and resulted—we have reason to believe—in much good to the cause of pure Christianity in Switzerland. Not only in Gene-

va, but through the other cantons of the Swiss Confederacy, Unitarianism has been making sure, if not rapid advance. The most recent account we have seen of the state of Theology there is in a volume of travels in Europe, by the late Dr. Fisk. He tells us in his chapter on Geneva, that an *Evangelical* Society has lately been formed in Switzerland, for the express purpose of "counteracting the almost total apostacy of the Swiss Churches, and especially of the Genevan Church, into Socinianism!"\* At length then, orthodoxy, it seems, has taken the alarm, and is determined at all hazards to resist the further progress of the growing heresy. But we have no fears for the final result. This combination of the scattered *Evangelical* forces in the heart of Europe looks rather formidable, to be sure, and it may succeed in gaining a short-lived triumph here and there; it may succeed in exciting unfair and foolish prejudices against a sect of Christians everywhere unpopular; it may succeed for a while in throwing obstacles in the way of the growth and prosperity of Unitarianism. All this mischief it may do, and much more; and in the mean time we are willing to leave it to the judgment of impartial and good men, whether such proceedings breathe the spirit of Christ, or are likely to promote the influence of pure religion in the world. Still we have a strong faith in the power of enlightened reason — a strong faith in the ultimate triumph of truth and Christian love over all the follies and errors and prejudices of man. Where religious inquiry is unshackled, the truth must finally be struck out and prevail. The mind once emancipated from the thralldom of error, glories in its native freedom, and will not be enslaved again. Above all, we have an unwavering con-

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\* With regard to the Orthodox appropriating to themselves the title of evangelical Christians, we have nothing more to say, than that all sects have an equal right to call themselves by that name, if they choose so to do. And yet some might think it becoming in an humble-minded disciple to pause, before he insinuated that any of his fellow Christians were less evangelical than himself. Be that as it may, there is one error into which the author of the statement quoted in the text has fallen, inadvertently perhaps. We refer to his calling the improved Theology of the Swiss Churches, Socinianism. We have taken the trouble to investigate this point with some care, and we are well satisfied that they differ from Socinus and his followers on some highly important points of doctrine, and cannot therefore with propriety be called Socinian. If the book ever reaches a second edition, we trust to see this error corrected.

fidence in the learning and piety — in the zeal and eloquence of our Unitarian brethren at Geneva. We trust that the Academy there, so long celebrated for its sound scholars, will continue to send out many strong and liberal minds — many earnest and devoted hearts to recommend our views of Christian truth. We hope and pray that the time may not be far distant, when the healthful influences of the Genevan Church shall be felt throughout Europe — when they shall be publicly recognised in the reformation of the popular theology, and its better adaptation to the spiritual wants of the people.

But to return to our author. Professor Cellerier has heretofore given the public some of the results of his professional studies in his *Critical Introduction to the reading of the New Testament*, and another to the reading of the Old, in *Discourses upon the study of the Scriptures*, and some other valuable productions of less note perhaps. More recently he has been favorably known among us by his popular work on the authenticity and Divine origin of the New Testament, a translation of which has lately appeared in this city ; and now again we have before us two moderate octavos containing the fruits of his researches into the institutions of Moses — the first elaborate work, we believe, on the Old Testament, which has appeared in Geneva since the commencement of the late controversy, unless we ought to except the critical introduction before spoken of. As was to be expected, the Unitarian scholars there have been chiefly occupied with the study of the New Testament, that they might be the better prepared to sustain and illustrate their peculiar views of Christian truth, and defend themselves against the assaults and misrepresentations of the orthodox. But in the progress of the controversy, they have found their adversaries appealing in support of their cherished creeds, to the authority of the Old Testament as well as the new. They have seen what a mass of loose and untenable opinions in regard to the Jewish Scriptures was afloat in the theological world, and have felt the importance of introducing more rational principles of interpretation, and diffusing more definite and satisfactory views of the connexion between Judaism and Christianity. The necessity of giving these subjects a more careful examination was obvious, not only for showing what flimsy arguments in defence of Orthodoxy were furnished by the Old Testament, but also for removing some of the most serious objections of unbelievers to Revelation itself. In



this, as in most other respects, the state of religious inquiry at Geneva, resembles our own ; and theological discussions may be expected to take very nearly the same tone there, as here. Indeed it would be interesting to compare the progress of rational Christianity in the land of the Pilgrims and the land of the Reformers. It would furnish a curious chapter for the history of our Church, entitled—“The natural tendency of ultra-Calvinism to defeat its own ends”—and showing how naturally Unitarianism springs up, and how well it thrives, where the pure doctrines of Calvin are preached.

Let it not be inferred from what we have said of the Unitarian Church at Geneva, and our author's connexion with it, that his work on the Mosaic law has any sectarian cast, or is in the least a work of doctrinal Theology. On the contrary, we do not remember a sentence in the whole body of the work, from which one could infer to what sect of Christians the writer belongs. In the notes at the end, there are one or two incidental allusions to Calvinism and German Neology, which might lead us to suppose that the author had little sympathy with either. With this trifling exception, we see not why any reader should fail to be satisfied with the book—any reader, who reverences the Mosaic law as a Revelation from God, and would better comprehend its spirit and bearing upon Christianity. Perhaps some may be disposed to quarrel with it for sins of omission ; it gives no countenance to typical or allegorical interpretation ; it says not a word about plenary inspiration—not a word about the doctrine of the Atonement or the Trinity. In regard to this last doctrine, however, we should not be surprised if the book left upon other minds the same unfavorable impression it left upon ours. We are firmly persuaded that Moses lived and died a Unitarian—a believer in God's undivided unity ; that he was sent into the world to reveal the doctrine of One only God, and preserve it in its purity ; that of all the human champions of this truth none ever lived more zealous and uncompromising—none ever accomplished more glorious and enduring results.

The plan and object of the work are sufficiently apparent from its title. The author does not propose to enter into a detailed examination of all the Mosaic institutions, but only to develop their spirit—to present a pretty general view of their tendencies, their character, their end, their influences immediate and remote, humanly speaking, of their philosophy. Of course,

it does not come within his plan to bring the institutions themselves before the reader any farther than is obviously necessary to reveal their spirit. Neither could this be reasonably expected within the narrow limits to which he confines himself. Accordingly, if any one looks into these volumes for a complete and learned commentary on the Mosaic legislation, he will be disappointed. This the author does not attempt. The questions, ever uppermost in his mind, and which he answers to the satisfaction of candid and serious inquirers, are such as these: What was the bearing of this law, or the effect of that? What was the end of Moses here, and what his meaning there? What was the object of his whole system of legislation? and what means did he take to accomplish his ends? As to the light, in which he considers these points, we have an intimation in the following motto on the title-page, taken from Constant's well-known work on religion — a motto, however, somewhat vague in expression: "The appearance and the duration of Jewish Theism, in an age, and among a people equally incapable of discovering and preserving it, are to my mind phenomena, which cannot be accounted for on common principles of reasoning." In a word, we may say that, in our author's view, the great end of the inspired lawgiver was — to establish and perpetuate in the world, a pure Monotheism, and prepare the way for Christianity — and this by the influence of institutions exclusively adapted to the existing circumstances of the Jewish people.

Perhaps the most characteristic feature of the work is its lucid and beautiful order — the sure mark of a logical and truth-loving mind, that clearly discerns truth and is solicitous to impress it as clearly upon other minds. All may read it with interest, for it is written in a perspicuous, and, when the occasion calls for it, in an earnest style, and is not less adapted to the unlearned reader, than to the most erudite scholar. It propounds no novel theories, it starts no bold hypotheses, in which the German schools are so fruitful, and which only excite curiosity by their ingenuity, or by their wildness, wonder. What is far better, it aims to be useful. It takes its stand on truths well established and commonly acknowledged, looks at them from original and striking points of view, presents them in new and stronger lights, and helps to establish them on firmer foundations; and is not this, in works of criticism, at least, the only kind of originality worth having? It may be called a

production of the school of Michaelis, containing as it does substantially the same principles and same views, with his great work on the laws of Moses. Unlike that, however, it is not so much a work of law, as of historical criticism and theology. While it exhibits the fruits of sound scholarship, of far reaching thought, and a cautious criticism, it makes no pretensions to the vast learning, the profound research, or the minuteness of detail, which render the treatise of Michaelis so valuable to the theological scholar. But, if it has not all the recommendations, neither has it the glaring faults of that work ; it is free from its vicious method, and unembarrassed by its learned dissertations on incidental questions, which, however curious and interesting, too often distract the reader's attention. If it is more limited in its plan, less copious in detail, less learned and complete, and therefore less acceptable to the critical student, it is at the same time more philosophical, and must, we think, be more satisfactory to one, whose chief object it is to understand better the spirit and philosophy of the Mosaic institutions. Let the immense learning, and the liberal plan of Michaelis be combined in one work with the logical method, and the philosophical spirit of Cellerier, and we should have a perfect commentary on the law of Moses. Our author candidly acknowledges his obligations to the work of Michaelis. Of all the writers who have undertaken to explain the Mosaic law, he considers him the only one, who has succeeded in rightly developing its character. For his own part he says, with his characteristic modesty, that he has no further qualifications to boast of, than a long and careful study, a deep conviction of the truth, and an ardent desire to see it embraced by others. The following extract from a chapter of introductory observations will give us a glimpse of the point of view he takes at the outset.

“The Mosaic legislation, often as it has been studied, seems to us almost always to have been misapprehended. Believers and unbelievers have come to the study of it with their preconceived views, their systems *a priori*, with their hypotheses and their errors. On the one hand, zealous for revelation, but zealous without knowledge, they have looked into the institutions of Moses for nothing but a tissue of allegories and types, or an absolute and universal legislation — the ideal of right and justice, and this, though Jesus Christ had expressly said that those institutions were intended only for one age, only for one people, that they were required by the obduracy of the Jewish heart and

the grossness of the Jewish mind. But no ! this would not do ; a legislation good for the Jews, adapted to their age, to their country, to their character, and their destiny — this too often has been the very last thing that religious critics have dreamed of seeking in the Mosaic documents.

“Unbelievers, on the other hand, have run into errors of a different kind. Some have found it easy enough to judge, by the standard of French manners, of laws given to some shepherds in the East three thousand four hundred years ago. They have set all their wits to work in jesting about the manners of Jacob's sons, and the high fashions of the Court at Jerusalem. Many of them have cast a disdainful glance at the Pentateuch, and then with a supercilious smile have shut the book without reading it. A few ingenious writers have dwelt upon one or two details of the law with praise or censure, but without attempting to bring the whole into harmony by a general view. Others — carried away by passion or prejudice, deceived by superficial appearances or by mere words — could see nothing but a system of priestly imposture in a law, which restrained and counteracted the pretensions of the priesthood. Yes ! will the reader believe me ? There are those, who, in their zeal for liberal principles, have made Moses a professor of Atheism and founder of the Utilitarian school.

Scholars, impartial and learned scholars, have had no better success. Almost without exception they have struck upon one and the same rock. Instead of reading the Pentateuch itself with care, they have studied the Rabbis — attempting to explain Moses by those very doctors, whom Jesus Christ charged with having corrupted him.”—Vol. I. pp. 1 – 3.

The author enters upon his work not only in a spirit of true philosophy, but with a deep reverence for the sacred books, which he proposes to illustrate. He feels his solemn responsibility for the manner, in which he executes his task. His pages breathe an air of humble and unaffected piety. He is not the critic to lay a rude hand on what has long been held sacred and venerable. His is an enlightened faith in the divine authority of the Hebrew lawgiver, and the truth of the record by which the law has been transmitted down to our times. To prove either of these points directly does not fall within his plan ; he assumes them both ; and yet there is much in the principles and views he offers, to strengthen our confidence in the Mosaic revelation. He sees no good reason for dissenting from the opinion commonly entertained, that the



Pentateuch, as it has come down to us, is substantially the work of Moses. The more he has studied the Pentateuch and the critics, who have written upon it, the more firm, he says, has grown his persuasion, that it is the production of a single mind. Doubtless, modifications were introduced into the laws during the forty years' sojourn in the desert ; here and there we can point to some slight additions and some later touches ; after the death of Moses, a finishing hand was put to Deuteronomy. But, for all this, the work throughout is Mosaic. The mind, which presides over the whole, is one — the same comprehensive and beneficent mind, that shines through the minutest details. He can discover in the law no traces of two legislations, of two epochs, and two authors. To his eye it bears the decided impress of unity, authenticity, originality. This view, it is well known, was commonly acquiesced in by biblical critics, till within a period comparatively recent, when it has been assailed by some of the most celebrated scholars of Germany. Of this our author is not ignorant ; he is aware, he says, that there are many journals, in which the common opinion is only deemed fit for ridicule — many universities, where they flatter themselves no scholar can be found to defend it. He professes to have made himself familiar with the spiritual and ingenious researches, that have created such a sensation in the theological world, and given celebrity to many learned adversaries of the authenticity of the Pentateuch. "But on such a subject" — he continues — "the spiritual and the ingenious, it seems to me, are not enough. There is a kind of *gymnastic criticism*, which dazzles the eyes and calls forth the plaudits of the multitude, and yet makes no progress in science, except by the refutations it provokes." On this point, however, he merely throws out these hints to let us know what his own opinions are, as it did not come within his purpose to examine the reasonings of those critics, who have done so much to shake the confidence of the learned in the authenticity of the Pentateuch.

He says of his work :—

"It will not be precisely an Apologetical treatise — not in form at least. I shall prove neither the authenticity of the books of Moses, nor the divine mission of the writer. I shall take them both for granted, because I believe them, and because I have presented the evidence already in other works. Still I hope my readers, if I have any, will carry away from this

book some influences conducive to faith, some results, which may strengthen their confidence in the Ancient Revelation. I love to think that they will experience what I have experienced myself. In reading the Old Testament, I have thrown aside the Rabbis and their Commentaries—adapted as they are much more to mislead, than to enlighten. I have sought for the spirit of the Pentateuch in the Pentateuch itself, and in the Pentateuch alone, and this I was unable to do without believing and admiring. I say then what I have seen, what I have felt, as I have seen and as I have felt it. I have believed, therefore have I spoken. If I am not wholly in error—if, in what I am about to offer, there is anything of consistency or harmony, anything reasonable and just—if my admiration is not without cause and my faith without motive, the reader, I hope, will share them with me. And I trust conviction will spring up in his own mind, as we contemplate together that venerable monument inscribed with the name of Moses,—and without anything being said in the question of Apologetics—he will find, I think, in the study a new motive for believing in the authenticity of the Sacred Book, as well as in the Divinity of its origin.”—Vol. I. pp. 5, 6.

The Mosaic legislation may be studied under two different aspects—in the books, which contain the law, or in the books, which relate the history. The history shows us how the law was understood and applied, but not how it was originally conceived. In the lapse of time it was greatly changed and corrupted by the errors and passions of man. In the history of the chosen people from first to last, we behold mingled together two parallel trains of events, which should always be kept distinct—the action of God, who founds the nation, gives the law, modifies it as circumstances require, and vindicates its authority—and the action of men, who pervert, violate, and would soon have destroyed it, had not the hand of God interposed to restore the primitive plan. The study of the history, then, is an uncertain guide to a right understanding of the law. We must study the legislation itself in its purity, in its original sources, in the books of the law alone. This is evidently the only safe course for the critical student, and it is the course, which our author adopts. Had he pursued the opposite course, he would have written a book on the Spirit of the History of the Hebrews; but it is to the Spirit of their Legislation, not to the Spirit of their History, that his inquiries relate.

The Mosaic legislation is not an isolated fact in history. It is not to be viewed as standing by itself. It must be studied

in connexion with the circumstances, which gave it a character, or it will not be comprehended aright. There are three points in the study of it, which deserve especial consideration. It held close relations with the past, the present, and the future. With the past it was connected by the character of the people, to whom it was to be adapted, — with the present, by the nature of the country, for which it was designed, — with the future, by the people's mission and destiny, which were the basis and end of the legislation. It is important to inquire how far the character of the law was determined by either of these circumstances. Before proceeding, then, to the study of the legislation itself, our author begins with a rapid sketch, first, of the moral and intellectual characteristics of the Hebrews, and then of the peculiarities of the country, to which they were destined, — of its physical, geographical, and political condition. The following abstract of this part of his work may give the reader some idea of the point of view, from which he starts.

1. The Hebrews were a new people. They were called to receive the laws of Moses at the very moment they became a people. Before, they were nothing but a family. Here was an important aid to the legislator. Had Israel, — dull, obstinate, proud Israel, — already become an established and organized community, with ancient habits and traditions, with venerated laws and an hereditary worship, what a firm and hard mass would have presented itself to the forming hand of Moses! What a host of prejudices, errors, and superstitions would he have had to encounter! How could he then have gained a hearing, or, if he had, how could the law itself have struck its roots deep in a soil already overgrown with a foreign vegetation? No! a virgin soil and a new people were what the legislator needed most for the accomplishment of his purposes.

His task then was simplified by the recent origin of the Hebrew nation. But on this point let us beware of exaggeration. Errors and prejudices quickly grow up among gross and ignorant men. Had the Hebrews inherited no errors from their fathers, — had they imbibed none from their neighbors, their own ignorance would soon have supplied the want. But they did inherit from their ancestors many false ideas and many barbarous practices. The law includes more than one concession to ancient customs, handed down from father to son. These

had taken root among the people, and the legislator could only modify, not destroy them. We may refer for some examples to the laws relating to Divorce, the Blood-avenger, and the Levirate. On the one hand, then, Moses, acting upon a new people, could mould them to new institutions, and, what is more, to new principles, new habits, new manners. On the other hand, he will often be obliged to struggle against old ideas, and connect his institutions with the established customs of the people, of their ancestors, or of their neighbors.

"Accordingly," says Cellerier, "we must not always expect to find in the Mosaic code absolute laws, — laws, which can be separated from all the previous customs of the Hebrews. We shall find many institutions required, and hence explained by those customs. It is only by the light of the antecedent history, that we can come at any just view of the institutions themselves. Deprived of this light, we should run the risk of falling into many errors, and to our eye some parts of the fabric would remain forever in the dark. How many questions, then, are there, which we shall never be able to answer! How many problems, which we shall in vain strive to solve! How many cavils easy to be raised, and difficult to be removed, only because we must confess ourselves ignorant of the fact, the custom, or the tradition, an acquaintance with which would instantly refute them! Now when we consider all this, are we reasonable in demanding of the interpreters of Moses, rigorous and precise demonstrations, answers always satisfactory, a light never obscure? Is Homer always clear, — Homer, who wrote so long after Moses, — Homer, the object of the world's apotheosis, — is he, I repeat, always clear, and have his commentators left nothing further to be said? To judge the Pentateuch by an absolute rule, is to violate both justice and common sense.

"It is, then, equally a violation of justice and common sense, to apply the Mosaic laws in an absolute manner, by wishing to impose them upon all mankind. Let us not transform an alphabet of laws into the supreme code of Christians, — an alphabet divine, it is true, but yet prepared for semi-barbarous Hebrews." — Vol. I. pp. 14, 15.

2. The Hebrews were an oriental people. They inherited the moral and intellectual traits of the oriental character, as all their history shows. Now, what are the essential elements of that character? They are three, — a propensity to sensual pleasures, — an ardent imagination, — and a remarkable tenaci-



ty of habits. Such is the oriental character to which the legislator will be constrained to conform his laws. It will offer some facilities, and some obstacles to his work. He will find it necessary to make numerous concessions to the sensual propensities of his people, and at the same time to confine them within strong barriers. When he cannot extirpate them all at once, he will bring indirect influences to bear upon them. He will resort to moral remedies, — never, when he can avoid it, to violence and constraint. Again, he will often appeal to the excitable imagination of the Hebrews. He will make free use of figurative speech and anthropomorphitcal representations of the Deity, that they may the better comprehend and retain his spiritual ideas. He will lead them by motives of gratitude, and the still mightier influence of terror; and, on the other hand, he will aim to prevent all the vicious extravagancies of fancy, by positive laws, and multiplied restraints. He will also turn to advantage the tenacious habits of his people, — in the hands of a skilful legislator one of the most powerful means of influence. He will train them to daily and familiar habits, of a nature to bind them to the law, and imprint upon them a complete character in harmony with his sublime views. His law will follow them into the retreats of private life; it will surround them in the solitude of the night, and by the fire-sides of home; it will guard and control them, as a second conscience and a second nature.

3. The Hebrews were a nomadic people. Their father, Abraham, was a wandering shepherd. His family after him were wandering shepherds; and so were their descendants down to the sojourn in the desert. Now, the course of the legislation must have been essentially affected by the previous nomadic habits of the people. What then are the general characteristics of the nomadic life, inquires our author, and proceeds to draw a highly graphic picture of a nomadic tribe, as it existed in the early ages of the world. The wandering shepherd is averse to all customs and all institutions, that indicate a settled abode, or would confine him to one spot, and accordingly is far removed from all social improvements, and all true civilization. His home is a tent. He lives wandering from place to place, in search of pasturage for his flocks, or a climate more congenial to his taste. This is his happiness and his glory. It gratifies that wild, but sweet passion for freedom and independence, which he drinks in with his mother's milk. Agriculture might lead the way to civilization, but agriculture he

abhors. To his eye, a sedentary life is slavery ; manual labor, a degradation ; social ties, an inglorious tyranny ; a settled home, a prison. How can his free and proud soul submit to social restraints ? He feels himself to be lord of the regions he traverses, of the air he breathes, of the plains where his flocks herd, of the wild schemes of his roving fancy, of the distant countries, whither to-morrow he may chance to wind his way. To bend under the yoke of agricultural life and the laws of society, he must abjure his native independence, and renounce the dignity of a freeman.

Such was the nature of the people, whom Moses was to transform into quiet husbandmen, — a work it would seem, too great for human strength. But the Hebrews could not live in the nomadic state, and accomplish their destinies. It was necessary that all their old ideas, their old tastes, their old habits should be radically changed, — from their accustomed food and clothing, to their laws and worship. The restless passion for independence was to be rooted out, and in its place substituted the tastes proper to agriculture, — the taste for property, for social improvements, for dull and uniform labors. The wild rover of the desert was to content himself with a fixed home, a limited horizon, and a monotonous life. A transformation like this would have been impossible all at once. Doubtless the aversion of this nomadic race to agriculture must have been considerably weakened by the sojourn of Abraham and Isaac in the land of Canaan, and that of their descendants in the land of Egypt. These two periods of their history must have begun and carried forward the legislator's work. Perhaps the sufferings of the desert, too, which made the Hebrews sigh after the Promised Land, predisposed them, when settled there, to become quiet and orderly husbandmen ; but all this was far from sufficient to bring about the change required.

4. The Hebrews were an ignorant people. This was the natural result of their nomadic state. A nomadic are essentially a barbarous, and therefore an ignorant people. The sphere of their experience is singularly narrow. Their habits of observation are superficial and irregular. Their ideas are few and scanty. Without agriculture, without commerce, without social institutions, they have no means of intellectual culture. Now this nomadic ignorance was a serious obstacle in the way of the legislator, — especially when combined with their sensual, imaginative, obstinate character. In the absence

of cultivated and refined tastes, sensuality became more difficult to combat. There was danger lest the imagination of the people, uncontrolled, should lead them astray into the dark regions of debasing superstition, and a sanguinary idolatry; and the native disposition to cling to old habits would be likely to run into a stupid obstinacy.

Perhaps their sojourn in Egypt, helped to enlarge the sphere of their ideas, to elevate them somewhat above the ignorance of the nomadic state, and to prepare their minds for still further cultivation and progress; and yet hardly enough, it would seem, to counterbalance the ancient and settled influences of the pastoral life. As long as the Hebrews were free in Egypt, they lived by themselves, occupied with their flocks in the land of Goshen; and when in the course of events they came to be mixed up with the Egyptians, they were persecuted slaves. Neither of these two periods could have proved very favorable to their intellectual culture. Besides, among the Egyptians themselves, the mass of the people were very ignorant. Knowledge was confined to the holy place, veiled in unintelligible hieroglyphics, while the profane vulgar had to take up with gross errors and weak superstitions. The knowledge of the people at best was mere skill in the mechanical arts; and to this the Hebrews, — some of them at least, — must have been trained in slavery; and yet all such knowledge was but a poor resource for the development and education of the mind, — a poor resource for bringing shepherds of the East into a condition to be the depositories of a spiritual religion, — to comprehend abstract theism, — to worship one Infinite Spirit, in whose likeness it was a crime to make images!

5. The Hebrews were a people brought up in Egypt. There they had lived four hundred and thirty years, part of the time isolated, and part of the time as slaves; and this long sojourn there could not have been without an important influence upon a new and ignorant people. It must inevitably have given them some new prejudices; it must have accustomed them to peculiar associations of ideas; it must have left a decided impress upon their character. Of the influences of this sojourn in Egypt we can clearly point out three at least: a tendency to idolatry, — false and narrow views of worship, — and an extreme reverence for the priesthood. To the priests and the initiated, the Theology of Egypt was probably nothing more than the ancient and hallowed veil of a religious mysticism; but with

the people it led to the most degrading Fetichism. What an impression, then, must have been made upon the Hebrews, who had constantly before their eyes the mysterious festivals, and the unnumbered Divinities of Egypt ! Upon that ignorant and oriental people, who already were but too easily disposed to extravagant superstitions ! At the very foot of Sinai, with the second commandment yet sounding in their ears, — if they are left to themselves only forty days, you will see them demanding a visible God, and clothing him with the attributes of an Apis. Will not a multitude of miracles, rigorous punishments, and all the power of terror be necessary to root out this passion for idolatry ? The Hebrews, incapable as they were of abstraction, had been accustomed in Egypt to associate together as inseparable what they had never seen separated, — the worship of the Divinity with certain customary observances in the manner of worshipping. In their minds, particular forms of the temples or of the altars, — certain emblems and ceremonies were intimately associated with all the ideas they had of God. Now, to break up this vicious association of ideas, the legislator will need much time and much skill ; perhaps he will be obliged to resort to severe punishments. At all hazards, he must prevent its leading his people to Egyptian idolatry ; and in the mean time, he may perhaps preserve in his own worship some of those forms, which have acquired an influence over their mind. But what a singular precedence, — what a superior wisdom will he need to shun the dangerous shoals around him !

In Egypt the sacerdotal caste enjoyed distinguished privileges. To them alone belonged all the science and the learning, covered with a thick veil, which they were careful never to remove. According to Herodotus, a third part of the lands was the property of the priests ; and so far from complaining of these monopolies, the submissive people looked upon all the splendor and opulence of the priests, as a right inherent in their order. Now, the descendants of Abraham are eye-witnesses of this order of things, — themselves slaves, and trained from the beginning to the like oppression ; and will not they too be ready to submit to the same yoke, if Moses is pleased to fasten it upon them ? And what course will he take ? He belongs to the race chosen to give priests to Israel ; he may, if he chooses, be the High Priest himself ; his children too may become priests. Here the prejudices of the people, — perhaps his own, — are in harmony with his interest. Still more, he may deem priestly



monopolies and privileges highly important to the stability of the state and the success of his undertaking. All his education would naturally have led him to this belief. Will he suffer himself, then, to be influenced by his interest, by his prejudices, and by the example of his masters, or will he be governed by a higher wisdom? Will he show himself the cunning contriver of a despotism, or the generous friend of human progress? A minister to the passions and selfishness of man, or the messenger of God? From the choice the legislator will make here, we may judge somewhat whether his ministry is of human or divine origin.

6. The Hebrews were a peculiar people. Nations, like individuals, have a character of their own. So the ancient Hebrews had peculiarities of character belonging to their race, or owing to some causes, of which we are ignorant. Their most striking traits of character are best illustrated by a reference to the external causes already developed. One of these traits, however, deserves to be considered by itself; for it seems too deep-rooted, too bold, too constant in its influence to be sufficiently explained by supposing it to have been the combined results of Jewish ignorance, and the oriental tenacity of habits, — it is their stupidity. This word is intended to convey the idea of their extreme slowness in grasping and admitting new ideas, and, as a natural consequence, their often strange and weak obstinacy in retaining old ones. In reading their history, we are sometimes confounded at their excessive backwardness in comprehending the will of God, — in trusting to him and his prophet, — in desiring and appreciating the blessings, which he wishes to secure to them. The most startling miracles seem to fall dead upon their souls. One would suppose that their old tastes and prejudices would have been a thousand times destroyed by the sufferings they endured in Egypt, — by the eventful scenes which accompanied their departure thence, — by all the signs and wonders which were displayed before their very eyes. But no! Their eyes are veiled, and all their senses enveloped in a thick cloud of moral darkness. This brutal dullness of itself must be a heavy obstacle for the legislator to surmount; for a people have need of intelligence in all situations, and at all periods. Through lack of it, the law with difficulty will be comprehended, — with difficulty be accepted and carried into execution.

To the several characteristics of the Hebrews, which have

been mentioned, might also be added that of an enslaved people. Indeed, it is to slaves fled from Egypt, that Moses is obliged to give his laws. But it was not for him to take advantage of this servile disposition, accommodate himself to it, or even modify it; it was necessary that it should be crushed at the outset. The conquest of Canaan, as well as the existence of every free and vigorous institution, was incompatible with the spirit of servitude. Accordingly, the degraded generation of slaves were to die in the desert, and from their ashes was to spring up a free people to receive from Moses a country and laws. The race, that crossed the Jordan in arms to claim the heritage of their fathers, were still a nomadic, oriental, ignorant, and stupid race, but they were no longer a race of slaves.

Such, then, was the character of the Hebrews; they were a new, an oriental, a nomadic, an ignorant, a stupid people, and a people brought up in Egypt. Such was the people whom Moses was to organize into a political community, and for whom he was to make laws, not one of which he could ever see carried into execution. Such was the people whom he was to establish in a new country, — a country not yet conquered, — a country, which he had never seen himself, and was destined never to enter.

After this sketch of the character of the Hebrews, our author proceeds to take a general survey of the country they are to occupy. He draws a beautiful picture of Palestine, as it must have appeared in ancient times. He speaks of the frontiers and natural boundaries of the Holy Land, — of the nature and configuration of its soil, — of its productions, temperature, and climate; and from a very general view, he deduces certain results, that would naturally influence the course of the legislation. He does not stop to dwell upon the more particular results, such as the regularity of the climate, the saline nature of the soil, the season of harvesting, the abundant supply of water, and a thousand other details of the same kind intimately connected with institutions, of which they are the basis, the reason, or the explanation. He passes by all such particulars, — though in themselves worthy of notice, — and confines himself to general results. These he divides into three classes, — the agricultural, the military, and the commercial relations of the country.

1. The agricultural relations. On this subject he comes to the following conclusions, respecting the fitness of the country for agriculture: —

“From all we have said, it may be inferred that the Holy Land was a country eminently fitted for agriculture, and demanding a population devoted to agricultural pursuits. Its fertility is a fact historically certain, notwithstanding the pleasantries of some modern unbelievers on this point. If to this day the soil of Palestine displays so much vigor, after eighteen centuries of dreadful ravages, in the hands of the Mussulmans, and under a wasting and oppressive administration, — what would it not have produced before all these causes of unfruitfulness had begun to operate, in the hands of a free and industrious people! We may judge somewhat as to the extent of the changes in the quality of the soil, which ages of war and oppression have brought about, by comparing the barrenness of two sections of Palestine at the present day, now abandoned to their native wildness, with what Josephus tells us of their admirable fertility. I refer to the left bank of the sea of Galilee, and to the plain of Jericho. What is more, we have also the direct testimony of profane authors to the same point. Tacitus compares the fertility of Palestine with that of Italy. The Greeks, it is true, complained of the sterility of parts of it, but it was simply of the country around Jerusalem, and that only as far as the cultivation of corn was concerned, and in other respects, it is highly extolled by Strabo. Abulfede says, that Palestine was the most fruitful portion of Syria. Deuteronomy assumes and often speaks in praise of this fertility. See for example, Deut. viii. 7–10. In short, this country was eminently fertile, — watered as it was by the mountain torrents, that poured down from the Libanus at the north, from Ephraim at the centre, and from Seir at the south. It was a smiling oasis in the heart of the sands of Syria. Enriched with every variety of soil, and, so to speak, with distinct climates, it enjoyed the peculiar good fortune of being equally adapted to all sorts of tillage. All that this Heaven-blest land wanted, to become singularly fruitful and populous was a hardy, industrious, agricultural race. It will be for the legislator of the Hebrews, then, to send such a race there.” — Vol. I. pp. 59–61.

2. The military relations. It appears that Palestine was finely situated for the national defence. It seemed as a citadel walled in on all sides. It was guarded by deserts difficult for an army to cross. In the interior were mountains, caverns, and defiles, which offered rich resources to its defenders. If the citizens, then, were united, they had little to fear from foreign invasion; and again, by reason of the deserts with which

it was surrounded, it was unfavorably situated for offensive wars. Thus, the spirit of conquest must have been repressed. In a word, this happy land seemed to call for a brave and united people to take their stand behind its rivers and its mountains, prompt to defend, but slow to attack.

3. The commercial relations. On the Mediterranean, Palestine has an extensive line of coast and fine seaports. The prosperity of Tyre, almost on its frontier, shows clearly enough all the commercial advantages of such a position. The Red Sea, too, is near enough for the caravans of the desert to establish a line of commerce between Heziongeber and Joppa. Finally, the productions of the Holy Land will easily furnish an abundant supply of exports. Its population, if given to agriculture, will hardly be able to consume all its fruits. Besides, some of its productions, as the balm of Jericho, are peculiarly valuable, but derive their full value from commerce alone. The legislator, then, will have to choose. He may encourage foreign commerce, and promise his people that kind of prosperity, which follows in its train. But, in that case, sooner or later will Israel find by her side a jealous and formidable rival in Phœnicia, already powerful and active. Or, on the other hand, Moses may purchase the good will of the Phœnicians and the tranquillity of his people at the expense of commercial prosperity. Then, he will confine the Hebrews within the limits of their own territory, training them neither to commerce nor to navigation. Which of these two courses he will adopt, we may already anticipate, perhaps, from the character of the people and the nature of the country under its agricultural and military relations.

Having finished his inquiry into the character of the country destined for the Hebrews, our author proceeds, in the next place, to take a rapid survey of the inhabitants and the neighbors of the Promised Land, and to consider the influence they may have had upon the course of the legislation. He divides them into three classes.

1. The Canaanites, who occupied Palestine, and, in connexion with them, the Philistines and Amalekites, tribes that were to be driven out, and therefore were necessarily the enemies of the Hebrews.

2. The descendants of Abraham, who lived in the neighborhood of Palestine. These were the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Idumeans, the Midianites, and the Ishmaelites; all



tribes who were allied to the Hebrews by blood, yet, through interest or passion, might be induced to make common cause with their enemies.

3. The nations foreign to the race of Abraham. These were the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, the Arabians, the Chaldeans, the Syrians, the Mesopotamians, Medians, Assyrians, and Persians; all of them nations still more important, though for the most part more distant, and so situated, that the establishment of Israel in Palestine could not be indifferent to them, or at least so situated, that Israel could not be indifferent to their neighborhood and their dispositions.

Such are the nations, with which Israel finds herself brought into contact, and the various relations she sustains to them all must render the work of the legislator the more complicated, and at the same time the more interesting to observe. On every hand we behold enemies or rivals! Not one natural ally, not one sure friend! Will not the descendants of Jacob need supernatural aids to succeed in establishing themselves in the Holy Land? That they may take possession of it, and for nine centuries preserve themselves a distinct and independent race, three conditions would seem necessary. On the part of God, the same divine protection, which he had always granted to their fathers before them. On the part of the legislator, an extraordinary discretion, a singular foresight, a wisdom truly superhuman. On the part of the people, an unwavering fidelity in obeying to the letter whatever commands Infinite Wisdom is pleased to communicate.

So much for the character of the people, who were to receive the laws of Moses, and the nature of the country, which they were to rule. This double view is a sort of introduction to the study of the legislation itself, to which our author now proceeds. He opens with a general view of the whole subject, by setting forth briefly the foundation and the end of the law, the sources whence its meaning and spirit are to be gathered, and certain leading principles which ought to be acknowledged at the outset.

"The Mosaic legislation," he says, "is, first of all, a revelation of the glory of God. Moses makes known to the Hebrews, to an almost barbarous colony that is to say, the one only God, a God, who has no likeness to himself on earth, — an immaterial, a supreme, a perfect God. Through him is revealed the true

God, at a time when the whole human race appears to have been struggling, or, rather I should say, to have been basely grovelling, in the darkness of polytheism. This luminous manifestation of the Infinite Spirit, fifteen centuries before Jesus Christ, contemporary with the old fables of Europe and Asia, amidst the Fetichism of Egypt, on the one hand, and the debasing superstitions of Canaan, on the other, this is the great moral miracle at the dawn of the world's history ; a miracle, which throws a supernatural light around the Mosaic law, and draws the attention of mankind to that point so far back in the ages, so diminutive in space, so despised by the fastidious refinement of the philosophers.

"It would seem, indeed, as if neither the historian, the philosopher, nor the religious man could remain indifferent with such a phenomenon before their eyes. How can they refrain from asking themselves, whence comes this wonderful superiority of the Mosaic religion over all others, and of the Hebrew people over all the civilized nations of antiquity, and what were the destinies thus presaged to that people ; what end the legislator had in view ? As to the first of these questions, here is not the place to answer it. This we have already done elsewhere, and we hope what remains of this book also will indirectly serve as an answer. As to the second question, we proceed to point out the end, for which the legislation was evidently revealed ; all the sequel of the work is but the development of that end.

"What that end was, has, doubtless, been already anticipated. It seems to us written all over the institutions of the Hebrews. It is that, which harmonizes and explains them all ; without which we are tossed about in inextricable darkness, and with which all becomes light. It was the will of God, of him, who destined man for salvation and Christ for the world, to establish by way of preparation a peculiar people, under such circumstances that they might receive, guard, and preserve, till the grand advent, the light of theism and the deposit of preparatory revelations. Here was the great end of the Mosaic revelation, and surely it was one in harmony with the ways of him, who, in grace as in nature, is faithful to a law chosen by his wisdom, and proclaimed aloud by all his works, — that law by which he wills and brings to pass no change, that is not prepared ; no result, in which man and time have not their part to do ; no miracle, I had almost said, to which the operation of second causes and his ordinary providence are not called to contribute. Now, we behold him inciting man to progress, and now leading him on by his own right hand, ever making the education of the race progressive, while he is silently preparing for them glorious

and immortal destinies ; ever long-suffering, because everlasting. Such is our God, as he constantly manifests himself." — Vol. I. pp. 79 – 82.

As for the sources of the legislation, it is in the Pentateuch alone that they are to be sought, for that alone contains the original and complete views of the legislator. The history of the Hebrews will only serve indirectly as a help in coming at the primitive plan, — so utterly changed and perverted was the law by the Hebrews disobeying the command to drive out the Canaanites, — by the establishment of the monarchy, by the despotic and oriental customs soon introduced into the royal court, by the schism between the two kingdoms, to say nothing of other causes less prominent. Sometimes, however, the history is useful in throwing light upon obscure portions of the law.

The archæology of the East, were it better known, might, as well as the Jewish history, occupy a secondary place in the sources of the legislation, many of the Mosaic laws resting upon more ancient customs adopted in part by the legislator.

No good would come from consulting the Rabbis and the Talmud, — faint and dubious lights, — when our object is only to discover how the Jews applied their law, and much more so, when we wish to understand the law itself. What a host of errors and follies would commentators have saved themselves, if they had but looked at the Pentateuch as the source of the Mosaic law, instead of substituting in its place the commandments of men, who in later times have disfigured its beauty !

Before showing what course he intends to pursue in the study of the legislation itself, the author lays down the following principles, the legitimate results of views already presented, but necessary to form a just estimate of his work. He then gives a brief outline of his plan :

" 1. We are not to look for a code of laws, like our ordinary codes, flexible and applicable to many nations. The position, the character, the mission of the Jewish people, were all peculiar. We must expect, then, to find a legislation corresponding to these peculiar circumstances, — a legislation purely and exclusively Jewish.

" 2. It is the aim of the legislator to transform, radically to transform, the national habits of the Hebrews. Now, how shall he succeed in this ? Not by vague and general laws, — not, as legislators commonly do, by regulating outward circumstances

and the civil relations merely. He will be obliged to follow the individual into the privacies of domestic life, enter into petty details, and extend an inflexible law over the least and most hidden elements of the social and moral man. Our attention, then, must be directed particularly to this influence; this private, familiar, steady influence. And let no one be surprised at seeing us carefully weigh a thousand circumstances apparently insignificant, unworthy perhaps of a legislation all human, where they would be out of place and ridiculous, because without effect; yet here important, effective, and deserving special consideration.

"3. Let us beware, also, how we look, even into the Pentateuch, for a complete *exposé* of the legislation. In reality it will be founded, for example, on various customs handed down to the Hebrews by their fathers, and adopted by the legislator. These long-established customs he assumes as being already familiar to the Hebrews, and does little more than point out what modifications and what restrictions they need. Perhaps the very foundation of an institution will be taken for granted, though veiled in some obscurity. Hence the various chasms we shall find, which need not surprise us.

"Let us now proceed to develop the order of ideas, which appears to have directed the Mosaic legislation, and with regard to which we are about to examine it.

"I. The divine legislator, at the outset, prepares the people for the legislation they are to receive.

"II. In order to act upon the people with a constant and energetic power, he makes choice of a peculiar instrument, Theocracy. At the same time, he regulates and qualifies the use of it.

"III. He puts the legislation on a level with the people, by accommodating himself to their ignorance and their wants, by leaving the shortest path, when circumstances call for it, to guide the people along that, which will lead more surely to the end.

"IV. He conforms the legislation exactly to the country, which the Hebrews are to occupy, and adapts it to the mode of life, which they are to lead there.

"So much for the legislation itself and its immediate action. But all this would not be enough, for the present is not all. It is necessary to provide for the future, and anticipate the dangers, which the Hebrews would be likely to meet either from without or from within.

"Dangers from without:

"V. To guard against these, the legislator labors to keep the people enclosed within the compass of the Promised Land, and



isolated from strangers, who would infallibly corrupt or enslave them.

"VI. That he may leave them in a condition to repel the foreign enemy, he aims to secure their strength, independence, and prosperity.

"Dangers from within :

"Corruption of morals, popular disaffection, disunion, the absence of public spirit, were enemies still more to be dreaded than the Egyptians or the Amalekites.

"VII. To arrest the growth of evils like these, the legislator labors to ensure the happiness of his people —

"VIII. To keep alive in their breasts a religious spirit —

"IX. To prevent corruption of morals.

"But the Hebrew people had a mission to fulfil very different from that of nations in general. The legislator had to educate them for a special, though a distant future.

"X. With this end in view, he prepares for the people that degree of civilization and that kind of social advancement, which comport with their destination, while he refuses them other states of civilization, as incompatible, in their peculiar position, with the preservation of theism and of morals.

"XI. Finally, he predisposes the Hebrews to receive one day the light of Christianity, to be transmitted by them to other nations." — Vol. I. pp. 84–87.

Such are the ideas, the eleven points of view, about which all the legislation of the Hebrews is grouped, and by which it is explained, developed, and classified by Cellerier. The sequel of his work is divided into eleven sections, corresponding to these eleven points. The ideas, which here are barely thrown out, are there amplified, coupled with details, illustrated, and fully unfolded in the same beautiful order. The present article is intended to give the reader some general idea of the plan and object of the work, and the train of thought, which presides over the whole. But we must follow our author into the happy development of his views and principles, if we would catch his spirit and feel the full value of his labors. To do this, we must avail ourselves of some future occasion.

T. W.

ART. V. — *The Great Presbyterian Church Case.* Hon. Molton C. Rogers's Charge to the Jury, in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, March 26, 1839. Commonwealth at the suggestion of James Todd and others *versus* Ashbel Green and others. \*

OUR readers are, we suppose, already apprized of the prominent facts in this case, and of the decision of the tribunal to which it was submitted. From the nature of the interests concerned, and the character of the parties engaged, few civil causes have excited stronger interest. To the whole Presbyterian denomination, one of the oldest and most numerous, and for many years, until its division, perhaps the most powerful of the religious sects of the country, it was of course a question of special interest. But involving, as it did, the rights and privileges of a large body of Christians, not fewer, it appears, than "five hundred and nine ministers and near sixty thousand communicants," it could not be regarded with indifference by any, with whom religious liberty and Christian charity are objects of any value. In truth, the whole religious community felt deeply interested in this cause, and we presume we are hazarding nothing in expressing the belief, that the result, except to the party losing, has been universally satisfactory. There is a strong natural tendency to sympathize with all, whose rights of any sort are invaded; and when those rights are of a sacred nature, affecting religious condition and privilege, the same sentiment is awakened to no ordinary degree. Whatever may be the intrinsic merits of the case, the community look with an almost instinctive jealousy upon any act of ecclesiastical domination. And though by the constitution of the body exercising it, by established usage or canons, it may be proved to have included nothing in it of usurpation, nay, in all respects to have been legal, such proofs will seldom avail to remove the prejudice against all such acts themselves. One of the last things, which a free community are willing to excuse is religious — if the phrase be not a self-contradiction —

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\* It is proper to state, that a considerable portion of the following article was written, and had gone from the hands of the writer, before the appeal of the defendants from the verdict of the jury, and the subsequent judgment of the full bench were known.

oppression. So that the defendants, or, as they are here designated, the respondents, who had in this trial to show cause for an act, which at once cut off, from their body and all the privileges pertaining to it, so great a multitude of fellow-Christians and fellow-citizens, had to contend, at the very outset, with strong but not unreasonable prejudices. And nothing short of the clearest evidence of right, and the stern necessity of the case, would reconcile disinterested persons to a measure so serious, even though it could not be shown to be illegal. It behooves, therefore, churches and all ecclesiastical bodies to keep in mind, that the world look with no favor upon sentences of excommunication. Except where the honor of religion is undeniably concerned, and open immoralities not to be passed over are committed, the general sympathy goes invariably with the sufferer; and no alleged heresy or violation of mere conventional rules, will remove from the excommunicating power the reproach, or at least the suspicion, of tyranny.

It was, therefore, an evil day for the prevalent party of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church of 1837, when they passed the resolve, which was the occasion of this suit. Against the party, who was the object, and whom they intended for the victim of this act of excision, no charge of immorality was pretended. The clergy and the elders of that party came to the General Assembly of that year, with precisely the same authority as did the clergy and the elders of the other party. They received their commissions from churches and presbyteries, that from the period of the act of union in 1801, for a period, that is, of more than thirty-five years, had been fully recognised as a part of the Presbyterian body, to whose rights as Christians, to whose privileges as Presbyterians, and specially to representation in the Assembly, no objection had been made. Nothing, therefore, but the gravest reasons could be accepted for an apology of such an exercise of authority, supposing it lawful. And a higher wisdom, than that which actuated the majority, and a better policy, — to say nothing of the charity, — might have dissuaded from a course, which at any rate would have incurred the general disapprobation, and which the justice of the country has condemned, not as arbitrary merely, but as illegal and unconstitutional.

Into the particular history and circumstances of this case it is not our intention to enter. The trial occupied three days, and, as might readily be anticipated, involved a great mass of

evidence, and the discussion, in its progress, of many important ecclesiastical and other questions. It excited an almost unprecedented interest in Philadelphia ; and multitudes, too, without the city, who could put themselves within hearing of any part of it, failed not to embrace the opportunity. From a friend, who was present, as well as from the public reports of it, we have learnt, that nothing could exceed the intense solicitude and breathless expectation, with which the charge particularly was heard. "That it was a scene, rather for the pencil than the pen to mark the various expression, according to their biases, of the countenances of the bystanders, as the Judge, in different parts of the charge, seemed to incline for one or the other of the parties."

They could not, however, have been left much or long at a loss as to the opinion of the Judge. His charge is one of the most clear and satisfactory presentations of a case, which we have ever had the satisfaction of perusing. He enters, without needless introduction, into the heart of the case ; and barely adverting to the state of the Presbyterian church previous to the formation of the General Assembly in 1788, he presents a brief statement of the nature and constitution of that body ; the subordinate judicatories, as church session, presbytery, and synod, from which it is composed, the mode of its organization, the form of its government, and its constitution, of which the Westminster Confession of Faith, and, as we believe, the Assembly's Catechism also, larger and smaller, form a part.

It is, however, not as an ecclesiastic, but as an incorporate body, and authorized by an act of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, to provide for the election of competent persons for the management of the temporal affairs of the church, that the judicial tribunal of the State could alone take any cognizance of this cause. The proceeding is issued in the name of the Commonwealth, at the suggestion of the plaintiffs or relators, against Ashbel Green (formerly President of Princeton College) and others, to show by what authority they claim to exercise the office of trustees of the General Assembly of the United States of America. To understand this form of the suit, it is necessary to keep in mind, that after the act of excision in 1838, passed by the defendants, who are also termed "the old party," the plaintiffs, or "the new party," whom they represent, took the matter into their own hands, chose their own moderator and clerks, and having succeeded, though



amidst tumult and confusion, in fully organizing their body, now claim to be themselves the General Assembly; consequently, that the trustees, which they elected, and not those of the "old party," are the legal trustees.

Thus much need be said of the civil or legal view of the case, simply to show by what process it was brought under the cognizance of a judicial tribunal. Its ecclesiastic or religious bearing, affecting Christian rights and liberties, is the only consideration in it, to which we attach the least importance. In this view, we shall briefly advert to the history of the matter, as it is exhibited with equal ability and fairness by the learned Judge, and then, to adopt a phrase of the fathers in announcing the plan of a discourse, we shall, "by way of improvement," draw from the issue of this trial, in other words, the verdict of the jury, a few practical reflections.

For the history of the affair, we cannot do better than to adopt the words of Judge Rogers's charge, only taking the freedom of an occasional omission or abridgment.

"At an early period (four years, that is, after the establishment of the General Assembly) the Presbyterian church at their own suggestion, formed unions with cognate churches, that is, with churches whose faith, principles, and practices, assimilated with their own, and between whom there was thought to be no essential difference in doctrine."—"On this principle a plan of union and correspondence was adopted by the Assembly in 1792, with the General Association of Connecticut, with Vermont in 1803, with that of New Hampshire in 1810, with Massachusetts in 1811,"—and at earlier dates with churches of various names, "Reformed Dutch" and "Associate Reform," within the State of New York. "The delegates from each of the associated churches not only sat and deliberated with each other, but also acted and voted as members of the General Assembly, by virtue of the express terms of the union."

"In further pursuance of the settled policy of the church to extend its sphere of usefulness, in the year 1801 a plan of union between Presbyterians and Congregationalists was formed."—"This plan, which was devised by the fathers of the church to prevent alienation and to promote harmony, was observed by the General Assembly without question by them until the year 1835, a period of thirty-four years. At this period, it was resolved by the General Assembly, that they deemed it no longer desirable, that churches should be formed in their

Presbyterian connexion agreeably to the plan adopted by the Assembly, and the General Association of Connecticut in 1801. They therefore resolved, that their brethren of the General Association of Connecticut be respectfully requested to *consent*, that the said plan shall be, from and after the next meeting of that Association, declared to be annulled. And also resolved, that the annulling of said plan shall not in any wise interfere with the existence and lawful association of churches, *which have been already formed on this plan.*"

"To this resolution no objection can be reasonably made. And if the matter had been permitted to rest here, we should not have been troubled with this controversy. It had not then occurred, that the plan of union was unconstitutional. The resolutions are predicated on the belief, that the agreement or compact was constitutional. They request, that the Association of Connecticut would *consent* to rescind it. It does not seem to have been thought, that this could be done without their consent. And, moreover, the resolution expressly saves the right of existing churches, which had been formed on that plan.

"I must be permitted to regret for the sake of peace and harmony, that this business was not suffered to rest on the basis of resolutions, which breathe a spirit of peace and good feeling. But, unfortunately, the General Assembly, in 1837, which was then under another influence, took a different view of the question."

It may well indeed be regarded as "a different view of the question;" for it led the majority of the Assembly of that year to pass a resolution, which at once "cut off from the body of the Presbyterian church four synods, twenty-eight presbyteries, five hundred and nine ministers, and near sixty thousand communicants, without citation and without trial."

And here it may not be altogether useless to some of our readers, to say a word in explanation of the Presbyterian system of government, and of the judicatories dependent and subordinate upon the General Assembly as the head. These are very clearly described in Judge Rogers's charge. But for the fullest and most satisfactory account of them, we refer to the "View of the Constitution of the Church of Scotland, in the Theological Institutes of Principal Hill, of Saint Andrew's," which is quoted with great approbation as of the highest authority by Dugald Stewart in his Memoir of Dr.

Robertson, and which, with slight modifications, will be found equally applicable to the Presbyterian church of this country.

"The General Assembly is the highest judicatory of the Presbyterian church. It represents in one body all the particular churches of this denomination of Christians;" and according to an amended form of government adopted in 1821, it now consists of an equal delegation of bishops or ministers and elders from each presbytery, in certain proportions.

The subordinate judicatories are, the church session, presbyteries, and synods.

The church session consists of the pastor or pastors and ruling elders of a particular congregation; corresponding to the minister and deacons, or trustees, in our Congregational churches, and to the rector and vestry of an Episcopal church. A presbytery is composed of all the ministers and one ruling elder from each congregation within a certain district, and in Scotland the number of parishes, which may compose a presbytery, varies with the circumstances of a district. So that in some of the populous districts, there may be found, says Principal Hill, "thirty ministers in a presbytery; while in some remote situations, as in the northern highlands, where a few parishes cover a great district, not more than four." Three or more presbyteries, represented by delegates of ministers and elders from each, compose a synod; and, lastly, the General Assembly is composed of an equal delegation of bishops or ministers from each presbytery. Synods, as such, or as a distinct judicatory, are not represented in the General Assembly; but from their acts or resolutions there is power of appeal, as from presbyteries to the Assembly, the highest court.

From this account of the organization of the Presbyterian church, it will at once appear, that it could be no trivial exercise of authority, which at once, to repeat the expression of the charge, "without citation and without trial, cut off from the body of the Presbyterian church four synods, twenty-eight presbyteries, five hundred and nine ministers, and near sixty thousand communicants."

And here the question arises, For what cause? Whence the necessity or occasion of this great excision? The answer, we suppose, may be summed up in brief, jealousy of Congregational influence, and alleged departure from orthodox faith. To explain the former it need only be said, that the Presbyterian churches of the Southern, Western, and we may add also the

Middle States, having been to a large extent supplied by ministers from New England, where Congregationalism, and not Presbyterianism, is the prevailing form of church government, a spirit of independence, which is a prominent feature of Congregationalism,\* gradually grew up in the Presbyterian churches thus supplied; and became so evident in the General Assembly, that, in 1835, they resolved, as we have seen, that it was "no longer desirable that churches should be formed in their Presbyterian connexion agreeably to the plan adopted by the Assembly and the General Association of Connecticut, in 1801."

But far beyond this jealousy of Congregational liberty, or independence of foreign judicatories, must be regarded as the cause and apology, if it has any, of this measure,—the alleged departure of the plaintiffs from the orthodox faith. Not that "the new party" reject the authorized symbols of their church,—the Westminster Confession and Assembly's Catechism. Such a charge, we presume, they would absolutely deny. But it is with them as with the contending parties of the Church of England, the high and the low church, a matter of interpretation. The articles are alike subscribed by all, but variously understood. That the *actual* faith of the one party differs in some material points from that of the other, amidst common claims to sincerity and orthodoxy, will not be questioned. To attempt an exact description of these differences, or to mark the lines of separation, would be a hazardous task to one uninitiated. At present, therefore, we shall simply take for granted the existence of such a diversity; and, in looking at its sources, we

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\* This independence of foreign judicatories is the distinguishing feature of Congregationalism. According to its acknowledged principles, "every organized church has entire power within itself to manage the affairs of the kingdom of Christ, without a dependence on any superior power on earth." So that "a Congregational church or society is a body of Christians vested with full power to direct its own concerns; to maintain its discipline; to elect, and if necessity be, *to ordain*, or remove its own officers;"—"for if the people may *elect* officers, which is the greater, and wherein the substance of the office doth consist, they may, occasion and need so requiring, impose hands in ordination." This, however, is expressly stated to be only in cases of necessity: for Congregationalism, while it maintains independence, encourages counsel and fellowship. Therefore, says the Platform, "We judge it much conducing to the well being of churches, that neighbor churches be advised withal, and their help made use of."



cannot be far from the truth in stating that to *the tendency given to theological discussion* by the writings of Edwards the author, of Hopkins the expounder of the system called after his name, of West, Emmons, and other divines of New England, modifying and explaining (not to say explaining away) the old doctrines; to *conflicting opinions of more recent origin in relation to religious revivals*, and the measures to be adopted concerning them;\* and, finally, to divisions yet later, growing out of the slavery question, is chiefly to be referred that state of things in the American Presbyterian church, which has issued in this suit.

As our purpose is only a historical statement, having neither authority nor inclination to judge in such questions, we leave our readers to their own judgment of the importance and probable result of these differences. That they are of a nature not to be composed by the verdict of a jury is very obvious; and, though the immediate effect of this verdict must be to reunite for a time the conflicting parties, in other words, to restore to their rights in the General Assembly the banished, yet like causes will hardly fail to produce like effects; and aggravated, as they now have been by legal contention, by the disappointment, on the one side, of defeat, and on the other, by the exultation of victory, it needs no prophetic wisdom to anticipate, that the union, or certainly the peace, will be of no long duration. It is seldom in the course of human affairs, that dissensions of any sort are thoroughly healed, so that no vestige whatever remains. But he must have read to little purpose the history of the church, who shall trust much to a reconciliation between ecclesiastic bodies, not voluntary, but forced by the judgment of a civil tribunal, and the causes of whose differences are unchanged.

But, independently of diversities of opinion, which have divided the clergy, there are causes of a different nature operating in the Presbyterian church among the laity, to produce dissatisfaction and disunion. This, we apprehend, is to be found in the spirit of the Presbyterian government itself, which

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\* See "A Narrative of the Revival of Religion in the county of Oneida, in the year 1826: Also, a brief account of the Origin and Progress of the Divisions in the First Presbyterian Church in the city of Troy, containing Strictures upon the new Doctrines broached by the Rev. C. G. Finney and N. S. S. Beman."

is essentially a spirit of dominion ; apt to control rather than to persuade ; and exercising itself over churches, in the disposal and removal of ministers, and over individuals by its vigilant inspection, its censures, suspensions, and still harsher discipline, it can hardly fail, with multiplying instances of authority, to procure to itself prejudice, and to alienate not a few of its own children. In Scotland, where for many generations it has been the established religion, the people are accustomed to the endurance of authority, and the spirit of their church, fostered by a monarchy, is not uncongenial with the spirit of their political institutions. They are attached, moreover, to "the kirk," by ancient and cherished associations ; by its past history and that strong bond of sympathy, past suffering ; and they enjoy at the same time the benefits of a ministry, which, for professional learning, fidelity, and exemplary virtue is not exceeded — would it were oftener equalled — by any church in christendom. But under our government, which admits no religious establishment, and in whose sight all sects are equal, Presbyterianism can have no power but that which it makes for itself in the hearts and minds of the people ; and the exercise of mere authority is not in American churches, nor with our notions of religious liberty, the effectual way to influence. Now, we are not prepared to assert, because we are not prepared to prove, that the clergy of the American Presbyterian church have, as a body, "exercised dominion" over their flocks. But this is evident, that the spirit and tendency of that church is to domination ; and where the means and opportunities are possessed, all experience and history, sacred and profane, prove that the use of them is rarely neglected. It belongs to mankind to employ all the power, which it finds lawfully given, and as much more as it can safely take. And here, as we think, is the true source of the prejudice and divisions among the Presbyterian *laity*, which their clergy have of late years encountered. Their people have found in their pastors, rulers rather than guides, and the exercise of authority where they looked for love. Hence it has come, that in the divisions of the ministers, the people have been less concerned to maintain the particular religious party within the church to which they really belonged, than to make common cause against clerical domination ; of which, not without reason, they have once and again complained.

Painful evidence of this tendency to arbitrary rule is furnished

in the History of those "Revivals of Religion," technically so called, to which we have already referred, and which in their progress, more particularly through the western parts of the State of New York, some twelve or thirteen years since, under the ministries of Rev. Messrs. Beman, Finney, Aiken, and others of like spirit, threatened little less than destruction to the churches.\* To the doctrines at that time maintained, and to the extravagant "revival measures" then pursued, may be traced in part the divisions which have since arisen in the Presbyterian body, and the origin in the General Assembly of the "Old and New Party." What may be the ultimate result of the decision of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, beyond its immediate effect of restoring the plaintiffs to their rights and privileges as members of the body, we presume not to anticipate, looking only at the aspects of the case in question, and unwilling to enter into the general merits of the parties. We believe we are but echoing the public voice, when we express our satisfaction in the very able and convincing charge of the judge; and in the ready and unanimous verdict of the jury.†

That the defendants, the "Old Party," should have been equally satisfied, was not of course to be expected. Whether their application for a new trial will be successful, or whether the issue of any trial would improve their position in the view of the Christian public, must be left to conjecture. This, however, we will venture to suggest for the consideration alike of both the contending parties, — that if the clergy of the Presbyterian Church in America wish to recover the influence they have undeniably lost, it must be by keeping in mind, that the kingdom of God is not in power only, but in love; that the fruits of the spirit are in gentleness, forbearance, and long-suffering; and that in a country like ours, all whose institutions are republican, and whose ecclesiastical establishments, if such they can be called, depend on the will of the people, it is no less the wisdom and the policy, than the duty, of the

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\* See for a notice of these extraordinary measures, and of the divisions thence arisen in the Presbyterian Church, an article in the *Christian Examiner* and *Theological Review*, Vol. IV. 1827.

† This jury, as we learn from the *Philadelphia Reports* of the case, included Episcopalians, Lutherans, Methodists, Baptists, Roman Catholics, and Quakers — but no Presbyterians.

ministers of Christ not to seek dominion over faith, but to be helpers of each other's joy.

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Since the above was prepared for the press, the Defendants have appealed from the judgment at Nisi Prius, to the whole court, and have obtained, as the public are already informed, a decision for a new trial. The opinion of the Bench, as pronounced by the Chief Justice, (Judge Rogers dissenting,) was, "that the excising resolutions of the assembly of 1837 were constitutional; that the assembly which met in the First Presbyterian Church, was not the legitimate successor of the assembly of 1837; and that the defendants were not guilty of the usurpation with which they are charged."

Hence it results, that the commissioners from the presbyteries within the four excised synods, had no right to seats in the Assembly of 1838; and the New School Assembly of 1838 are declared to be not the legitimate General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

In declaring his dissent from this opinion, Judge Rogers said, 'after the patient and impartial investigation by me, at Nisi Prius and at bank, I have nothing at this time to add, except that my opinion remains unchanged on all the points ruled at the trial.' "This explanation," he added, "is due to myself, and because it has become necessary (in a case, in some respects, without precedent, and presenting some extraordinary features) to prevent misapprehension and misrepresentation."

Upon a decision, thus solemnly pronounced by the highest judicial tribunal of Pennsylvania, we should not presume to speculate, even did a full knowledge of the merits of the case, which we have not, or an interest in the result, which we feel not, authorize or invite such a discussion. So far, however, as a becoming respect, (not by us to be violated,) for the authority of a judicial body, may permit, we cannot avoid remarking the contrast of the clear, simple, common-sense statement of the case, as it appears in the charge of Judge Rogers, with the arguments and inferences of the same case, as elaborately exhibited by the Chief Justice Gibson. We really supposed, we had understood the leading points of the controversy upon reading the former; and we are not conscious, — being wholly without the pale of Presbyterianism, — of any biases to confuse our



judgment in regard to the latter. But with our utmost docility, and with the largest allowance which modesty can make for want of familiarity with the refinements of a profession not our own, we are left to an absolute suspense as to the meaning of some of the sentences pronounced in the course of his opinion by the learned Chief Justice. We take the liberty of quoting a few : —

“ The sentence of excision, as it has been called, was nothing else than an ordinance of dissolution.” — “ Now it will not be said, that if the dissolved synods had no other basis than the plan of union, they did not necessarily fall along with it, and it is not pretended that the assembly was incompetent to repeal the union prospectively. But it is contended that the repeal could not impair rights of membership, which had grown up under it. On the other hand, it is contended, that the plan of union was unconstitutional and void from the beginning, because it was not submitted to the presbyteries for their sanction ; and that no right of membership could spring from it. But viewed not as a constitutional regulation, which implies permanency, but as a temporary expedient, it acquired the force of a law without the ratification of those bodies. It was evidently not intended to be permanent, and it consequently was constitutionally enacted, and constitutionally repealed by an ordinary act of legislation ; and those Synods, which had their root in it, could not be expected to survive it. There never was a design to attempt an amalgamation of Ecclesiastical principles, which are as immiscible as water and oil ; much less to effect a commixture of them only at particular geographical points.” — “ The avowed object of it was to prevent alienation, in other words, the affiliation of Presbyterians in other churches, by suffering those who were yet too few and too poor for the maintenance of a minister, temporarily to call to their assistance the members of a sect, who differed from them in principles, not of faith, but of ecclesiastical government.”

“ Again, to all questions put by the established organ, it is the duty of every member to respond, or to be counted with the greatest number, because he is supposed to have assented beforehand to the result of the process preëstablished to ascertain the general will ; but the rule of implied assent is certainly inapplicable to a measure, which, when justifiable by extreme necessity, is essentially revolutionary, and based on no preëstablished process of ascertainment whatever.”

Once more. “ It would be decisive, however, that the motion as it was proposed, purported not to be a question of degradation for the disallowance of an appeal, but one of new and inde-

pendent organization. It was ostensibly, as well as actually, a measure of transcendental power, whose purpose was to treat the ordinance of the preceding assembly as a nullity, and its moderator as a non-entity." — "Other corroborative views have been suggested, but it is difficult to compress a decision of the leading points in this case into the old-fashioned limits of a judicial opinion. The preceding observations are deemed enough to show the grounds on which we hold that the Assembly, which met in the first Presbyterian church, was not the legitimate successor of the Assembly of 1837."

The following are extracts on the other side, from the charge of Judge Rogers to the Jury, from whose verdict the appeal was made.

Having stated at length the principles of the case, and the questions of fact, which were for their decision; and having quoted the judgment of Lord Mansfield, that "whenever electors are present and do not vote at all, they virtually acquiesce in the election made by those who do;" with which principle agrees one of the rules of the General Assembly itself, familiar to every member, namely, that silent members, unless excused from voting, must be considered as acquiescing with the majority; the Judge thus proceeds: — \*

"This is not only the doctrine of the common law, of the written law, as you have seen, but it is also the doctrine of common sense: for without the benefit of this rule it would be almost impossible, certainly very inconvenient, to transact business in a large deliberative assembly.

"Of this rule we have very lately had a most memorable instance. † The fundamental principles of your government have been altered: a new constitution has been established by a plurality of voters. Forty thousand electors, who deposited their votes for one or other of the candidates for Governor, did not cast them at all on that most interesting and important of all questions. But notwithstanding this, the amended constitution has been proclaimed by your executive, and recognised by your legislature, and by the people as the supreme law of the land.

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\* The reader will at once perceive the importance of the principle here laid down. One of the main questions for the decision of the jury, in this case, was the legality or illegality of the votes, by which the plaintiffs (the new Party) elected their Moderator, and organized the assembly, which met in the First Presbyterian Church.

† Question on the amendment of the Constitution of Pennsylvania.

This, gentlemen, has been stigmatized as a technical rule of law, a fiction and intendment of law. It is sufficient for us, that it is a rule of law. We never can be wiser than the law; for if we attempt this, we endanger everything we hold dear, — our property, our liberty, our life.

“Nor, gentlemen, can we know anything of fancied equity as contradistinguished from the law. The law is the equity of the case, and it must be so considered under the most awful responsibility by this court and this jury. In my opinion it cannot be better employed than when they are vindicating the safe and salutary principles of the common law.”

“If you believe that the several motions were made and reversed, that they were carried by a majority of affirmative voices, whatever may be your opinion of the relative strength of the two parties in the assembly, your verdict must be for the relators. I hold it to be a most clear proposition, that silent members acquiesce in the decision of the majority.” — “This Court and you, gentlemen of the Jury, have nothing to do with fancied majorities and minorities, but with majorities legally ascertained.”

“If you believe that the questions were not reversed, that they were not carried, that the members of the assembly had not an opportunity of hearing and voting upon them, your verdict should be in favor of the respondents. But if, on the other hand, you believe that they intended to organize the assembly; that the questions were severally put; that the noise, tumult, and confusion, which prevailed in the assembly, were the result of a preconcerted plan, or combination, or conspiracy between the clerks, the moderator, and the members of the old school party, to sustain the unconstitutional and void resolutions of 1837, which deprived members of seats, to which they were justly entitled, your verdict should be in favor of the relators.”

“I entreat you, as you shall answer to God at the great day, that you discard from your mind all partiality, if any you have, fear, favor, or affection; that you decide this interesting case according to the evidence, and that you remember, that the law is part of your evidence.”

The reversal of the verdict of the Jury, composed as has been already stated, of almost as many religious denominations as they were individuals, (Presbyterians only being excluded,) was, we believe, as unexpected by the one party, as it was earnestly sought and welcomed by the other. It will be numbered with the examples, which from time to time the history of the administration of justice furnishes of “the uncertainty of the law;” a lesson not to be despised of those

who resort to it, either to repress presumption or to forbid despair. Before the time for the appearance of this number of our journal shall have come, it will probably be known whether the leave now granted to the defendants for a new trial will be taken; and we shall see also in what position the conflicting parties will finally appear. When the numbers and influence of the party, now defeated, are considered, it needs no spirit of prophecy or unusual sagacity to anticipate some signal changes in the Presbyterian body. Whether the excision of the new party shall be absolute and perpetual, or whether the breach, which has been made, shall hereafter be healed, it is evident, that there is nothing in such contests to add to the respectability or increase the influence of any religious sect. It is always at some hazard of its spiritual, which is its only true and proper power, that any Christian denomination, as such, enforces its temporal rights by recourse to law. Unquestionably there are cases when such resort is needful, because there are injuries which can only thus be redressed, and remedies thus only to be found. But in most cases of controversy between religious parties, the rebuke of the apostle to the Corinthians of the elder times is applicable in its full strength to ours: — “Now, therefore, there is utterly a fault among you, because ye go to law one with another.” “Is it so, that there is not a wise man among you? no, not one, that shall be able to judge between his brethren?”\*

One of the clearest, as it is also one of the most solemn lessons furnished by ecclesiastical history, is of the mischiefs which in all ages of the church, from its establishment to the present, have flowed from the contests of sects, and of ministers. And when, as in the case before us, such divisions come with a struggle for power, with that spirit of domination, which belongs specially to this church, it is easy to see how pernicious must be the fruits. We speak not invidiously or uncharitably when we ascribe to Presbyterianism the spirit of domination. We are but stating what adheres to its very constitution, which is “*imperium in imperio*.” It is Presbytery over Church-Session, Synod over Presbytery, and the General Assembly over all. To an ecclesiastical polity like this, there needs no proof, for the thing speaks for itself, that there will adhere a spirit of rule, not dormant, but pervading and active.

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\* 1 Cor. vi. 5 - 7.



And when it is considered also, that beyond most other churches it prescribes doctrine as well as discipline ; and claims a right of judging by its received standards the faith as well as conduct of its ministers, we have no hesitation in asserting, that such a constitution is at variance with the republicanism of this country, and with the love of freedom in the people, who, accustomed to liberty in everything else, submit with an ill grace to be controlled in their religion.

The very root and origin of the present divisions in the General Assembly were, as has been seen, the impolitic admixture, by the union of 1801, of Congregationalism with its own body. Now the spirit of Congregationalism is liberty. Herein consists its peculiarity — that it maintains the absolute independence of each church over other churches, and power to govern itself. And who does not see, that the principles of the one church are incompatible with those of the other ; or to adopt the expression of Judge Gibson in his charge, “immiscible as water and oil.” Nor will it surprise any one, who gives to the subject a moment’s reflection, that “the attempt at amalgamation” has issued, as do all such projects, whether in church or state, in jealousy and alienation.

And when to this fruitful source of division from differences in the outward discipline, or constitution, we add the diversities, not few or trivial, of religious faith, which all its creeds and catechisms, any more than the creeds and articles of the church of England, or yet of any other church, have never been able to regulate, with the conflicting opinions prevailing among its ministers and laymen, on some of the most exciting topics of the times, — the prospect of reconciliation, still less of any permanent union, seems to us very distant and improbable.

Whatever, therefore, may be the claims or the merits of the respective parties, — which it is neither within our province or inclination to judge, — and whatever may be the result of this controversy, Presbyterianism will gain nothing by the struggle. May it please Him, who from tumult can make peace, that our common Christianity, which is more excellent than either, shall not suffer through it. The community at large, who care nothing for the points that divide them, will at least see, that there is division ; and they will not fail to remember who has said, “That an house divided against itself cannot stand.” Presbyterianism in this country will not stand. In Scotland it is established by law. It is in accordance with the

nature of the government and other institutions of the country. It is, moreover, identified with the history, and planted in the affections and most cherished associations of the people. But here, where, as aforetime in Israel, there is no king, and every man, in matters of religion above all others, does that which is right in his own eyes, it is in vain to expect submission to ecclesiastical rule. The arm of the Church, once so potent, will not now be endured; and its thunders, if it venture to utter any, will be heard, except for the discord, with a quiet indifference. No power but spiritual power, which is the power of truth and righteousness, will in these days prevail: and a church going to law may end in a church going to ruin.

F. P.

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ART. VI. — *Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature*. Edited by GEORGE RIPLEY. Vol. III. Containing Select Minor Poems, translated from the German of Goethe and Schiller, with Notes. By JOHN S. DWIGHT. Boston. 1839.

THE enterprise of Mr. Ripley from its commencement awakened our strongest interest. The first volume of his specimens of foreign literature, prepared by his own hand, increased our confidence in his success, not only from the important character of the writings which he translated, but equally from the clear analysis, the liberal criticism, the hearty hospitality with which he welcomed to our language and our country, the most distinguished philosophers of France. The style of the preliminary chapter, the richness of illustration, the lucid development of doctrines, the happy exposition of incidents and characters, were well suited to establish for the Editor a high reputation for ability and elegant scholarship, as well as learning.

The volume before us, the third of the series of Mr. Ripley, as a work of art, has higher pretensions than its predecessors. The choice efforts of Goethe and Schiller, the two chief representatives of the highest success of Germany in literature, are here repeated in our language. This is done chiefly by Mr. Dwight, who has acquitted himself admirably. He under-

stands fully the poems he would translate ; he penetrates into all their meaning ; he represents to himself the state of mind, the mood, the conceit, which gave birth to each little gem ; and he rather reproduces, than copies. His volume, very unequal, and having inequalities even in the version of the same little work, is yet superior to any English volume of translations from the German. He proves himself to be familiar with German culture, to have a mind enriched by various study, to have felt, to have reflected ; to have gained the valuable accomplishment of a good knowledge of the German, and to possess in an eminent degree, what is far more valuable and perhaps more rare, a thorough knowledge of his own language and ready skill in its use. Some of his translations have indeed been too readily written ; they bear marks of haste ; and haste is always imperfect. But we have seen no volume from the German in our language, which shows more love of the pursuit, or more success in the result. The general expression of opinion in his favor should excite our young friend to a still severer discipline of his powers.

The character of the writings selected by Mr. Dwight is so various, and from poets so opposite in their natural tendencies and in their lives, that directly or incidentally allusions are made to the various theories of art, and to the chief philosophical speculations, for which Germany has been famous. Goethe and Schiller are an antithesis. Schiller, though ennobled, remained in sympathies essentially plebeian ; Goethe, had "the predicate" and the indifference "of an Excellency" : Schiller was proudly independent, exhausting his life in strenuous, unrelenting industry, rather than receive a pension ; Goethe had no scruple in accepting from a prince enough for wants which he declares were not little. Schiller had a heart which would throb, and a mind which would utter itself freely ; to Goethe the affections were inanimate subjects for dissection, and he always considered before he spoke. Schiller's writings bear evidence of discipline in the sublime philosophy of Kant ; Goethe had no philosophy, no creed, no principles.

A great poet is the mirror of his time ; just as a great philosopher is the exponent of its general culture. It is said of Goethe that he is the representative of his age. In one sense he is so. The philosophy of Descartes had introduced the spirit of skepticism ; Voltaire, beginning with skepticism, had proceeded to the work of analysis ; and in the general proving

to which all things were subjected, a generation seemed resolved on considering what was to be thrown away and not what was to be preserved. The Titans went forth to destroy ; and in the overthrow of ancient superstitions, of ancient forms of government and thought, the old world seemed coming to an end. At this period Goethe appeared. He came before the European mind was ready to rebuild ; and after it had caused the old institutions to totter. The age had destroyed former systems ; and had as yet produced no new ones. Faith in verbal inspiration was gone ; and it was still rather the fashion to deny the existence of the soul, than to look for sources of truth within it. This is the character of Goethe as a writer. He is not a destructive. He came into a world of ruins ; but he had not vigor to continue the warfare, nor creative power to rebuild. And thus he floated down the current passively ; adhering to the past, yet knowing that it was the past ; no iconoclast himself, yet knowing that the old images, before which men bowed down, were demolished. His works have no glimmering of faith ; he cries hist ! and lets the multitude continue to adore the idol which he knows to be broken. The infidelity of Goethe reaches to the affections and to intelligence. He writes of love ; and it is, to recount its sufferings, and leave the sincere lover to shoot himself. He writes of a hero, the liberator of his country, the martyr for its independence ; and confounding patriotism with libertinism, he casts aside the father of a family, whom history had extolled, to represent a reckless seducer. He writes of a scholar, outwatching the bear, becoming wise with stores of all knowledge, and makes his philosopher so dissatisfied by his acquisitions, as to sell his soul to the Devil for the opportunity of sensual enjoyment. Everywhere the pages of Goethe are stamped with evidence, that he has no faith in reason, or in the affections ; in God, in man, or in woman. Will you have the type of Goethe's mind ? Behold it in his conduct. In his earlier life he joined the army of Prussians, when it invaded France to restore the Bourbons. He was no Roman Catholic ; he knew that legitimacy was a worn out superstition ; he knew that the old noblesse of France had lost its vitality ; and yet he gives his early efforts in arms to compel the worship of the public at deserted shrines and broken altars. Such was he in early manhood ; such was he as a writer ; such was he throughout his pilgrimage. Goethe, the legitimatist poet, — who in youth was indifferent to God, and reverential



only towards rank and the Bourbons, — Goethe, who, in his maturity, while his country was trodden under foot by foreign invaders, quietly studied Chinese or made experiments in natural philosophy, — Goethe, who wrote a fulsome marriage-song to grace the nuptials of Napoleon, — Goethe, the man of letters, who, in his age becoming an Excellency and a Duke's minister, almost alone, with but one stout ally, stood out against the freedom of the press, — Goethe is the poet, who represents the morals, the politics, the imagination, the character, of the broken-down aristocracy, that hovered in the skirts of defeated dynasties, and gathered as a body-guard round the bier of legitimacy.

Goethe is very far inferior to Voltaire, not in genius and industry only, but still more in morality. In point of morality and manliness, Voltaire was immeasurably his superior. The Frenchman had humanity ; he felt for the persecuted ; he had courage, and dealt vigorous blows for men who were wronged. His influence was felt in softening the asperity of codes, in asserting freedom of mind, in denouncing the severity that could hate protestantism and philosophy even to disfranchisement, exile, and the shedding of blood. But Goethe never risked a frown of a German prince for anybody. He was a prudent man, and, in the great warfare of opinion, kept quietly out of harm's way. On religious subjects, he mystified ; on political subjects, he was discreetly silent, except that he adored rank ; worshipping birth, like intellect, and ever ready with flattery for the ruling powers of the day.

Goethe has sometimes been the favorite, or rather the divinity, of men, who rely on the spontaneous actions of the human powers, and reverence impulse, as the voice of God. But will a just analysis sustain their preference ? In one sense the writings of Goethe teach the sovereignty of impulse. The moral of *Wilhelm Meister* is, even according to the poet's own interpretation, simply this : — Young man, yield to your passions ; intrigue with a woman and desert her ; neglect the business entrusted to you ; go strolling through the country in the train of a company of actors ; talk about art ; see all sorts of people, and exercise all your powers with reference to art, and not to such inconsiderable things as right and wrong, and you will be led to the highest elevation of human virtue. — In any other sense Goethe is not the creature of impulse. He never was carried away by a holy enthusiasm for truth or freedom.

On the contrary, Goethe was one of the most wary, calculating, circumspect people of his times. He did not speak unpleasant things in a tone louder than a whisper ; he kept his thoughts to himself if his thoughts were likely to give offence in high places. In all his works, — except perhaps in some of the feeble, rambling, ill-conceived, diffusely-executed productions of his extreme age, — there is not a line, which would by possibility excite the distrust, alarm the sensitiveness, or twinge the conscience of an approved profligate aristocrat ; the empress of Austria will find in every line of his poems to persons, that the poet knew the awful distance between himself and the high personages whom he flattered ; and the emperor Francis could consider his politics soundly and most legitimately orthodox. A free press was to him not at all a desirable thing. He himself had already so ruled his spirit, that the words it uttered had no need to fear an imperial censor. Royalists, says Goethe, and, reader, we quote him word for word, Royalists, says our poet of impulse, whom the lovers of spontaneity adore, Royalists, says his Excellency Von Goethe, minister to the Grand Duke, “Royalists, who have the power in their hands, should not talk but act. They may march troops, and behead, and hang. That is all right. But to argue is not their proper way. I have always been a royalist. I have let others babble. I understood my course, and knew what my object was.” There is spontaneity with a vengeance ; famous workings of the inner light ; profound reverence for “the objective” ! In history, his judgments are analagous. Marathon was a name that found no interpreter in his breast. The field, on which the hopes of human freedom were redeemed, was in his view eclipsed by Waterloo. Or hear him explain the true foundation of parties. The spirit of reform, during Goethe’s life, had been virtually yet beneficently active ; had wrought the most salutary changes in Germany itself. But Goethe’s insight is deeper. “Much is said,” exclaims the “objective” Minister of State, the rival, as he himself has expressed it, of Napoleon, of Frederick II., and of Luther, “Much is said of aristocracy and democracy ; but the whole affair is simply this : In youth, when we possess nothing, we are democrats ; but when we have come to possess something of our own, we wish to be secure.” But this is not the best of Goethe’s political lucubrations. Here follows his definition of freedom. “Freedom,” and, reader, we quote word for word, “Freedom consists in

knowing how to respect what is above us." And, again: "If a man has freedom enough to live in health, and work at his craft, he has enough." What an admirably humane statesman is his Excellency! And Goethe expresses his deep sympathy for Lord Byron, who had the folly to speak out all that he thought; and he expresses "pity," yes, he has the effrontery to entreat pity for Lessing, because Lessing would speak his mind, would "meddle," as his Excellency expresses it, would share the polemical character of his times; would insist on taking occasion to "vent his pique against priests and against princes." And Goethe sums up the whole mystery of political wisdom in the following maxims: "The art of governing requires an apprenticeship; no one should meddle with it before having learned it."—"Let the shoemaker abide by his last, the peasant by his plough, and the king by his sceptre." We will add in this connexion but one passage more. Goethe condenses his system into three lines, which he puts into the mouth of Tasso:

"Der Mensch ist nicht geboren frey zu seyn;  
Und für den Edlen, ist kein schöner Glück,  
Als einem Fürsten, den er ehrt, zu dienen."

This was written in the period of the American Revolution, and is the poet's reply to Jefferson, being, in plain English, "Man is not born to be free." Mark the meaning; man is not only not born free, but not designed by Providence "to be free."

In morals and their theory and in philosophy, Goethe is true to the character which he displayed in actual life. He has expressed his practical rule as follows:

"Wouldst make thy life go fair and square?  
Thou must not for the Past feel care;  
Whatever thy loss, thou must not mourn;  
Must ever act as if new-born.  
What each day wants of thee, that ask;  
What each day tells thee, that make thy task;  
With pride thine own performance viewing,  
With heart to admire another's doing;  
Above all, hate no human being,  
And all the Future leave to the All-Seeing." — p. 187.

"I understood myself," says the eminent poet on another

occasion ; and his ambition and its imperfect gratification are expressed in complaints, which this volume contains.

"What if all Europe has praised me ? What has it done for me ever ?  
Nothing ! I've even — how hard ! — paid for my poems myself."

And claiming to have achieved the admiration of Germany, and Francè, and England, yes, and of the Chinese, he asks, pathetically, "*Doch was fördert es mich ?*" &c. How does it benefit me ? and adds : "No emperor ever asked after me, no king ever troubled himself about me." This epigram Mr. Dwight has rendered. The preceding one is wisely omitted. Yet to understand Goethe, the man, it must be considered. In it he sums up his prayers for all that he needs for happiness ; but his inventory becomes too indecent to be rendered. Coarseness, the most open and vulgar expression of animal passion, was, it would seem, not at all offensive to his conservative admirers.

Goethe read and pretends to have been edified by Spinoza, and began an exposition of Spinoza's "so much feared, yea, abhorred speculations." Mr. Dwight quotes the passage, pp. 401 — 403, and at its close adds : "Here ends, abruptly enough, the promised exposition of Spinoza ;" and very justly adds, "more than this we can seldom get out of Goethe. He leaves everything unfinished. He is forever exciting and then baffling curiosity." We have left out two words of Mr. Dwight's ; and as we here wished only to quote what we are willing to adopt, we have quoted but little. That little expresses our opinion exactly. It is a dreamy, misty, twilight sort of exposition, that makes a part of the mysterious influence, which Goethe wins over minds, that are still in a state of ferment. Things seen through mists are magnified. Any object, imperfectly discerned in the glimmer of early evening, may be imagined into a tree, an animal, an apparition. So the admirers of Goethe interpret their own feelings, their own vague aspirations into his works ; they put there what Goethe never dreamed of. But as Tasso was at last himself persuaded, that Jerusalem Delivered was an allegory, just so Goethe, since men would discern sublime moral tendencies in his works, at last came to believe, that *Wilhelm Meister* contains a philosophy of life, and that that base compound of false taste and lewdness, the *Elective Affinities*, illustrates beautifully the healing influences of renunciation, the avenging Nemesis that hangs over married peo-



ple who wish to get divorced, and the purity of virgin holiness.

The *Elective Affinities* brings us to the remark, that Goethe not only had no morals, but scarcely a knowledge of what morality consists in. The girl, whose affections are seduced, and remain seduced to the last, starves herself to death, and so is represented as a model of sanctity. From the lips of the pattern-woman of the piece, a lady, who is no novice, having buried one husband whom she never loved, and having now made up her mind to get divorced from another, the following oracle is published: "There are certain things, which destiny obstinately resolves upon. In vain do reason and virtue, duty and holiness oppose it; something must take place, which seems right to destiny, and which to us does not seem right; and so finally destiny works its way through, we may conduct ourselves as we will." So the pattern-woman yields.

It is this ignorance of morals, which gives to Goethe's works one of their peculiarities; insincerity. He is an artist, and not a man. He imitates, he reproduces, he does not create, and he does not build up.

In this want of sincerity lies also the secret of his want of popularity. Goethe is at once dissolute and illiberal. The poet knew in his old age, that he never could become popular. His chances at popularity are diminishing. Twaddle will not pass long for wisdom. The active spirit of movement and progress finds in his works little that attracts sympathy. The conservative loathes him; for there is nothing fixed and permanent and vital in his principles. To rest on him is like trusting in a gale to a dragging anchor, that has caught only in a quicksand.

In everything that relates to firmness of principle, to love of truth for truth itself, to humanity, to holiness, to love of freedom, to virtue, Goethe holds perhaps the lowest place. What man of his genius is comparable to him for baseness? Byron, Voltaire, we had almost said Shelley, soar far above him in moral worth and generous feelings.

Yet Goethe has made an epoch. In the art of writing German he has no superior. He entered on the career of letters, at a time when the German mind had not obtained mastery over its language, and as a master of German style, he was the instructor of his nation. It has been said of Dryden, that from his pages sometimes not a word can be spared. The admirer

of Goethe may turn to his prose, where a golden style, slightly tinged with mannerism, possesses clearness, richness, moderation, and melody ; to his smaller poems, where often for pages together no word but the right one occurs, where each word is in its proper place ; and where the little song, in its terseness, its completeness, and its felicity of expression, leaves nothing to be desired. Coarseness abounds ; but again there are poems, which are of the utmost delicacy, pure in the conception and harmonious in the execution. Such, for instance, are "The Floweret Wondrous Fair," and "The Wanderer." Such is "Iphigenia," and, with slight qualifications, such is the imitation of the manner of Voss in "Hermann and Dorothea." It is easy to believe, that one, familiar only with these works of Goethe, should form an imperfect idea of the character of the man and of his writings.

In the next place, Goethe had great power of receiving impressions, and he turned his eye in the most various directions. The Kantian philosophy, like that of Descartes, sought in the soul for the best evidence of the existence of God. Goethe puts into a poem, —

"Hail to the Unknown, the  
Higher Beings  
Felt within us." — p. 113.

A tendency to piety was beginning to be in motion ; and Goethe at once sings of absolute resignation to the calamities, which are sown around us by "the benignant lightnings" of the "most holy Eternal Father."

"Humbly I kiss the  
Hem of his garment,  
Filled with the awe of  
A true-hearted child." — p. 111.

The Greek superstitions blended strangely the idea of the Providence of the Gods, and the irresistible power of the Fates, and Goethe writes anew the

"Song of the Parcæ, which they shuddering sang,  
When Tantalus fell from his golden seat." — pp. 118, 119.

But the characteristic of Goethe's times is, that the destructives had been at work, filling the world with ruin. Goethe

writes a poem, and it is one of his very best, in the very spirit of the Titans : —

“ When I was a child,  
And knew not whence or whither,  
I would turn my wildered eye  
To the sun, as if up yonder were  
An ear to hear to my complaining —  
A heart, like mine,  
On the oppressed to feel compassion.

Who helped me,  
When I braved the Titans’ insolence ?  
Who rescued me from death,  
From slavery ?  
Hast thou not all thyself accomplished,  
Holy-glowing heart ?  
And, glowing young and good,  
Most ignorantly thanked  
The slumberer above there ?

I honor thee ! For what ?  
Hast thou the miseries lightened  
Of the down-trodden ?  
Hast thou the tears ever banished  
From the afflicted ?  
Have I not to manhood been moulded  
By omnipotent Time,  
And by Fate everlasting,  
My lords and thine ? ” — pp. 106, 107.

Again, the Spiritualists represented the creation of the world by the power of the Logos. Goethe takes his admirers back to the creation ; he represents the essences of all things present before the Word ; and the World-Soul by the Word gives visible, tangible, sensible forms to all changing existences.\*

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\* As a specimen of the notes with which Mr. Dwight has enriched the volume, we quote from his commentary on this poem : —

“ Of this singular poem a word may be said ; for, though in general such things had better be left to explain themselves, yet here, to help out somewhat an imperfect translation, it may be well to state what idea of it I had, while translating it. It is an attempt to embody in poetic, emblematic form, the sublimest flight of which the soul is capable in the region of pure speculation, where literal language wholly fails.

## "WORLD-SOUL.

Disperse ye now to all remotest regions  
From this high Festival !  
Sweep through the zones, ye heavenly-winged legions,  
And fill, fill out the All !

Far, far ye float, a heavenly vision beaming  
On blessed Spirits' sight,  
Or 'mid the social stars hang sweetly gleaming  
In realms thick-sown with light.

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"The whole difficulty of understanding it lies in the first verse. The point of view from which the poem proceeds, and to which the reader must transport himself, is so sublime and unattempted in most men's thoughts, that, hardly dreaming it possible to wing himself up to it, he will, perhaps, look at the poem only from the outside, and see nothing but strange confusion. The poet's starting-point here is no less than the heart of the Absolute itself. From here he looks out through creation, instead of looking back, as we do, from the creation to its unknown Cause. From the centre of Unity, of the Real, the Self-Existing, Causal Essence, he contemplates the Many, the Phenomenal, the world of effects, the infinite diversity of individual organizations, proceeding forth. It is but another aspect of the 'One in All.' As we observe the world around us, and all finite natures, we soon discover that these are not real, in the highest sense; inasmuch as no form preserves its identity two successive moments, but there is a perpetual flux going on throughout all matter. The real thing, therefore, we do not see. Under all this Changeable, the soul immediately supposes an Unchangeable, a Real, Self-existing, which is the ground of all its changes; which is the ground of all we see; which would be, were that taken away, and without which that would not be. All things, therefore, in essence are one; in form only are they many.

"Around the throne of this Unity, then, the poet imagines all things met in Essence. He calls it a 'holy festival.' It is the jubilee of Spirit, flowing back out of its separate individual channels, and enjoying its identity, and now just on the eve of creation again, about going forth to organize itself in all forms, as sun, star, mineral, plant, animal, man. Spirit, which in itself, in the repose of its completeness, is One, is all, being now considered as about putting forth its causal energies, multiplies itself, and, in poetic language, sends out its 'heavenly-winged legions'—armies of 'Monads'—on their creative mission in all directions through the All. Then follow, in the other verses, the successive orders of organized natures, ending with Man, whose individual life is only of time, and in the flame of love and aspiration goes out, and finds itself again in the Whole.

" 'Into the All receiving  
Your life as thence it came.' "



Anon fierce comets, far away ye blaze,  
Immeasurably far,  
Crossing at will the intertangled maze  
Of circling sun and star.

Speed on, speed on, ye young creative forces !  
Snatch up the shapeless earths,  
And swing them off upon their measured courses,  
Renewed through endless births.

Ye waft the circling seasons round, the changes  
Of sunshine and of storm ;  
From you the caverned rock, the mountain-ranges,  
Do take their fixed, firm form.

See now all things with godlike ardor striving  
Their bounds to overleap ;  
The watery waste would fain grow green and thriving ;  
No grain of dust can sleep.

Work on ! work on, with fondest, restless yearning ;  
Live through this dark, dank night !  
I see a boundless Paradise far burning  
In ever-shifting light !

Now lift themselves to light, like strange-shaped shadows,  
The animated throng !  
And Ye, surprised, stand there on earth's fresh meadows,  
First Mortal Pair ! Erelong,

In mutual smiles, your boundless heavenward striving,  
Melts into air, like flame.

Rejoice ye, then, into the All receiving  
Your life as thence it came." — pp. 147, 148.

And, finally, to take but one instance more, Spiritual Pantheism came in vogue in Germany, and Goethe too makes rhymes on the "One and All."

"How yearns the solitary soul  
To melt into the boundless whole,  
And find itself again in peace !  
The blind desire, the impatient will,  
The restless thoughts and plans are still ;  
We yield ourselves — and wake in bliss." — p. 151.

And in which of these poems does Goethe express his own convictions? Was he pantheist, or spiritualist, or atheist, or orthodox?

Of the songs, we should quote the one entitled "*Vanitas ! Vanitatum !*" but it has been copied so extensively, as to show in what esteem it is held. Take, then, as a specimen of Mr. Dwight's lighter manner, the version of

" THE SON OF THE MUSES.

Through country and through city  
I pipe my homely ditty,  
I weave my cunning rhyme.  
I stroll about at leisure,  
But always mind the measure ;  
With me all goes by time.

I scarce can wait their coming —  
The flowers of earliest blooming,  
That first peep out in Spring ;  
I sing them, though they are not ;  
If Winter comes, I care not ;  
The fond old dream I sing.

I sing where no one listens,  
Where ice all round me glistens :  
These are the Winter's *flowers !*  
And when they melt, I wander  
To the planted hill-side yonder,  
And still find pleasant hours.

The young folks, met for pleasure,  
Move briskly to my measure  
Under the linden tree ;  
The stupid rustic, grinning,  
The starch, prim maiden, spinning,  
Must own my melody.

Wings to my feet ye give me ;  
O'er hill and dale ye drive me ;  
Your darling child must roam.  
Say why, ye kindest Muses,  
Your wiser will refuses  
To take the wanderer home ? " — pp. 13, 14.

The division entitled "Parables, Epigrams, Proverbs," has attracted us. Take an example: —

"*Goods* gone — something gone !  
Must bend to the oar,  
And earn thee some more.  
*Honor* gone — much gone !  
Must go and gain glory ;  
Then the idling gossips will alter their story.  
*Courage* gone — all 's gone !  
Better never have been born !" — p. 187.

There is also a pleasing version of the poem "For Life," by Mr. James F. Clarke ; but we have no room to extract it.

The latter part of the volume is filled with selections from a purer writer and a nobler man.

To the character of SCHILLER, there belongs a high tragic and moral interest and dignity. His tastes were exalted ; his love of humanity, a consuming passion ; his ardor for freedom and social progress, an absorbing feeling. His elevated hopes pervaded his lectures, his essays, his tragedies, his poems. He was ill at ease, restless, anxious ; and how could it be otherwise ? His genius was kindled with the divine light, which was to dawn upon the nations with healing in its beams ; but it was not his happiness to behold it make its way through the clouds. For him the French Revolution seemed to have failed from the vices of its friends ; from the despotism of its successors. The eagle of France was invading Germany ; public virtue in sovereigns seemed exhausted ; the people had not yet been disciplined into independent action. A deep gloom was settling on the prospects of his country. So much the more did Schiller turn inward. The darkness, which to him overspread the civil world, from the advancement of despotic power, was as thick as that darkness, which shut the bard of Paradise from "the sight of vernal bloom, or summer's rose," and, like Milton, Schiller maintained his faith, still nursed the undying flame within his breast, and his poems abound with sentiments like those of the bard of Paradise. He had within him a sanctuary. In the darkest hours he knew how to find hope within himself : —

"So much the rather thou, celestial light,  
Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers

Irradiate ; there plant eyes, all mist from thence,  
Purge and disperse, that I may see and tell  
Of things invisible to mortal sight."

Schiller, when the deepest gloom settled on the European world, preserved his trust unimpaired in the truths and in the providence which were to rescue freedom and virtue from a shipwreck. God, the soul, and freedom, ever were articles of his creed.

In early life Schiller broke away from the charms of patronage. "My ties," he exclaims, "are dissolved. The public is now my zeal, my sovereign, and my confidant. I belong to it exclusively. Before that tribunal and before none other will I plead. This only do I fear and reverence. I am elevated by the thought of bearing no chains but the decision of the world, of never again appealing to any other throne, than the soul of humanity." And he called on posterity to neglect the writer who was nothing in himself, who was only an artist and an author.

Schiller's life was of necessity a struggle. At the opening of this century it seemed to him that peace and freedom could nowhere find a refuge ; and sternly reproving alike the military ambition at France, and the commercial avarice of England, he adds that the search on earth is vain for the happy region, where the garden of freedom preserves its freshness, and the beautiful youth of humanity its bloom." Alas ! that Schiller knew so little of our America. Here his heart would have found repose. The poem, from which we have quoted, was written at the epoch, almost at the moment, of the election of Jefferson, just as our institutions were gaining the full confidence of the people, just as humanity was going forth upon a new morning of existence, and freedom was wreathing its freshest garland of evergreen.

Unable to derive tranquillity from watching the progress of humanity in our western hemisphere, Schiller sought relief by contemplating the calm virtues, the democratic liberty of Switzerland. His heart dwelt in the vales of Uri, and Unterwalden the rocky shores of the lake of Lucerne, by the consecrated scenes of Altdorf and Küsnacht, among the echoes that had known the voice, in the sequestered cantons that had borne the footsteps of William Tell. The poem, which commemorates the emancipation of the three cantons, is the masterpiece of Schiller's genius. In it he gave lessons in national indepen-



dence, in democratic freedom, in resistance to tyrants, in the inalienable right of the pure, laborious, peaceful tillers of the soil to govern themselves. The interest of the play rests not on William Tell, but with infinite art, which nothing but sincerity could have inspired, it is diffused through the little nations that were lifting themselves into political independence. In this, Schiller has not been equalled by poet or historian. And this conception was purely the creation of his own genius.

But the progress of despotism endangered even Switzerland. Schiller had no hope but in the unseen world. He sought to fly from the pressure of real life, into the tranquil capacious sanctuary of the heart, to cherish freedom, if it were but as a vision. As the hart for the water brooks, he panted for the realms of truth, which puny despots and time-servers could not invade. He had studied the whole history of man, and nowhere found his visions realized. "It is the dove," says a French biographer, "that quitted the ark to wander over all the earth, but finding nowhere rest for its wing, returned to its heaven-appointed shelter." The hour of death came to him at a season of deep dejection for the friends of liberty. As his dissolution drew near; just a few instants before his last breath, a friend inquired of him how he was, and received the answer, "calmer and calmer."

E'en then, says our own Bryant, whose character is kindred with Schiller's, though born in a happier land,

"E'en then he trod  
The threshold of the world unknown;  
Already, from the seat of God,  
A ray upon his garments shone—  
Shone and awoke that strong desire  
For love and knowledge reached not here;  
Till death set free his soul of fire,  
To plunge into its fitter sphere.  
Then who shall tell, how deep, how bright,  
The abyss of glory opened round;  
How thought and feeling flowed, like light,  
Through ranks of being without bound!"

To dwell on Schiller's character is the less necessary, as the admirable life of him by Carlyle is so well known. The perusal of that life we commend to the young men of our country.

In the translations from Schiller, Mr. Dwight has been eminently successful. His version of the Song of the Bell, for

example, of which many versions have been made, is without compare the best; and some of his English competitors were skilful and experienced at the vocation. We notice also among the poems, Mr. Dwight has selected the song "To Joy," "The Artists," "The Ideal and Life," in which Schiller reveals his views of life, and of the duty of the poet. Here also is the sublime song "The Feast of Victory," which was the admiration of Madame de Staël. In all these, as in others, the poetic talent of Mr. Dwight is displayed most happily. "The German Muse" illustrates the independence of German literature, and bestows on it praise of which no part belongs to Goethe. In "Hope," and in the less successfully rendered "The words of Faith," in "The Ideal and Life," Schiller's own creed is delineated. Justice to Schiller compels us also to say, that Mr. Dwight has sometimes admitted from a friend a translation, which he would scarcely have tolerated from himself.

Yet to one of the contributors Mr. Dwight is largely indebted. The versions by Mr. Frothingham are of the highest merit. The diction is beautiful, terse, appropriate, and exact. The spirit is animated; the keeping perfect. "The Flowers," "The Festival of Eleusis," the "Cassandra," are all rendered by Mr. Frothingham, and each will more than justify the high praises we have bestowed; for they show the hand of one who is not satisfied with doing well, but strives to render his versions faultless. We met the other day a beautiful version of Schiller's Indian Death Song, by Sir John Herschel; in this volume we have a translation by Mr. Frothingham. We shall put them side by side, giving but the single remark, that Mr. Frothingham's version is literally exact.

#### THE INDIAN DEATH SONG.

##### SIR JOHN HERSCHEL'S VERSION.

See, where upon the mat he sits,  
Erect before his door,  
With just the same majestic air  
Which once in life he wore.

But where is fled his strength of  
limb,  
The whirlwind of his breath  
To the Great Spirit when he sent  
The peace-pipe's mounting wreath?

##### N. L. FROTHINGHAM'S VERSION.

On the mat he's sitting there:  
See! he sits upright,  
With the same look that he wore  
When he saw the light.

But where now the hand's clinched  
weight?  
Where the breath he drew,  
That to the Great Spirit late  
Forth the pipe-smoke blew?

Where are those falcon eyes which  
late  
Along the plain could trace,  
Along the grass's dewy wave  
The rein-deer's printed pace?

Those legs which once with match-  
less speed  
Flew through the drifted snow,  
Surpassed the stag's unwearied  
course,  
Outran the mountain roe?

Those arms once used with might  
and main  
The stubborn bow to twang?  
See, see, their nerves are slack at  
last,  
All motionless they hang.

'Tis well with him, for he is gone  
Where snow no more is found,  
Where the gay thorn's perpetual  
bloom  
Decks all the fields around.

Where wild birds sing from every  
spray  
Where deer come sweeping by,  
Where fish, from every lake, afford  
A plentiful supply.

With spirits now he feasts above,  
And leaves us here alone  
To celebrate his valiant deeds  
And round his grave to moan.

Sound the death song, bring the  
gifts,  
The last gifts of the dead,  
Let all which yet may yield him joy  
Within his grave be laid.

The hatchet place beneath his head  
Still red with hostile blood,  
And add, because the way is long,  
The bear's fat limbs for food.

The scalping knife beside him lay,  
With paints of gorgeous dye,  
That in the land of souls his form  
May shine triumphantly.

Where the eyes, that, falcon-keen,  
Marked the rein-deer pass,  
By the dew upon the green,  
By the waving grass?

These the limbs, that, unconfined,  
Bounded through the snow,  
Like the stag that's twenty-tynd,  
Like the mountain roe!

These the arms, that stout and tense,  
Did the bow-string twang!  
See, the life is parted hence!  
See, how loose they hang!

Well for him! he's gone his ways  
Where are no more snows:  
Where the fields are decked with  
maize,  
That unplanted grows;—

Where with beasts of chase each  
wood,  
Where with birds each tree,  
Where with fish is every flood  
Stocked full pleasantly.

He above with spirits feeds;—  
We, alone and dim,  
Left to celebrate his deeds,  
And to bury him.

Bring the last sad offerings hither!  
Chant the death lament!  
All inter with him together,  
That can him content.

'Neath his head the hatchet hide,  
That he swung so strong;  
And the bear's ham set beside,—  
For the way is long;—

Then the knife,—sharp let it be,—  
That from foeman's crown,  
Quick, with dexterous cuts but three,  
Skin and tuft brought down;—

Paints, to smear his frame about,  
Set within his hand,  
That he redly may shine out—  
In the spirits' land.

We close our desultory criticism with repeating our conviction, that the volume which we have reviewed is the best volume of translations from the German poets in our language.

The work does high honor to Mr. Dwight, who has our best wishes for his literary success. A genuine love of letters, a spirit that has confidence in truth, that is not alarmed by inquiry, a catholic willingness to appreciate excellence of the most opposite kind, mark the character of the Notes, which he has happily appended. They prove him to have reflected deeply, to have given careful thought to his winning employment. In connexion with the poems, they call up for consideration most of the principal German theories of philosophy. There is not a word of illiberality, not a rash, sweeping criticism in all his notes. He seems resolved on appreciating every one's merit; and this amiable and honorable quality is a sufficient defence, even if his speculations should not all be received, and if he should be charged with excess of admiration for one at least of the poets, for whom his labors are winning new suffrages.

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**ART. VII.**—*Travels in South Eastern Asia, embracing Hindustan, Malaya, Siam, and China; with notices of numerous Missionary Stations, and a full account of the Burman Empire; with Dissertations, Tables, &c.* By HOWARD MALCOM. In two volumes. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. 1839. 12mo. pp. 274 and 322.

MR. MALCOM was sent to the East as the deputy and representative of one of the great American Missionary Societies, to examine and adjust many points not easily settled by correspondence; to compare the various modes of operation in different missions; to survey the field; to compare the claims of proposed new stations; to comfort, encourage, and strengthen the missionaries in their arduous work; and to gather details on every branch of the subject on which the Board lacked information. In addition to the present publication, voluminous communications in relation to Mr. Malcom's official doings, inquiries, and conclusions are in possession of the Board which, it is intimated in the preface, will not be withheld from the examination of proper applicants. With the majority of the public we have had access only to the two volumes now before us, which, with exceptions to be noticed, have impressed us favor-



ably with the zeal, the perseverance, and the judgment employed by Mr. Malcom in the discharge of the duty assigned to him. The work consists of four parts, embracing Travels in Burmah; Digested Notes on the Burman Empire; Travels in Hindustan, Malaya, Siam, and China; and Dissertations, Tables, &c., with an Appendix, pictorial illustrations, and a map of South Eastern Asia. The claim of originality for the map should have been sustained by a distinct specification of the errors and omissions in previous maps that have been corrected and supplied, and of the instruments and observations by which the localities were ascertained. "Local surveys" and "recent unpublished maps and charts at the Surveyor General's office in Calcutta" are the best authorities, especially if in these are included Captain Pemberton's maps appended to his secret Report on the Burman frontier, which, however, we suspect is not the case; but when Mr. Malcom quotes mere "conversations with missionaries and other gentlemen," as furnishing corrections for his map, we suspect altogether the grounds on which it has been framed. The illustrations both in wood and steel are in general executed with spirit and taste; but among the specimens of Oriental languages, forming one of the steel engravings, we observe that the very pardonable mistake has been committed of giving a sentence in the Hindustanee language and Arabic character as a specimen of the Arabic language. The words of the Bengalee airs in the second volume are also incorrectly given, and these are not the only instances in which the reflection is suggested, that it is unsafe for an author to profess to quote even single words, much less sentences, in languages with which he is unacquainted.

There are many topics suggested by the perusal of these volumes which we must omit to notice; but it would be unjust to Mr. Malcom not to advert in the most prominent manner to the calm and just spirit of Christian charity, in which he has estimated the character and institutions of the people of those countries where he has travelled. This is the more remarkable, because it is in contrast with the hasty judgment often pronounced and the harsh language employed by other missionaries. They seem to regard it as a sort of Christian duty to deny to the objects of their benevolence the common virtues of social life and even the ordinary attributes of humanity. In the dark picture that is drawn there is scarcely a redeeming feature, as if man's moral nature did not still survive all the de-

grading and vitiating superstitions into which he has fallen, and as if he did not continue to be a subject of the moral government of that Being whose nature he has misunderstood and whose worship he has corrupted. We are very far from seeking to palliate the vices either of an idolatrous or of a Christian people: to exaggerate them is equally inconsistent with truth and justice; and as in the deepest debasement of the individual character we delight to trace some quality which has escaped entire pollution, so in the darkest aspect of national character we rejoice to perceive some rays of heavenly light, showing that God has not left himself wholly without a witness in the heart of man any more than in the world of nature. Man's moral nature is as permanent and indestructible as man himself. Nay his moral nature *is* man himself; for if you separate his moral principles, and feelings, and affections from man, what remain but those physical propensities, desires, and impulses, which identify him with an inferior order of beings? Wherever, therefore, we meet with a *man*, in whatever latitude or longitude he may be found, however ignorant and erring, however sinful and wretched, however poor and oppressed, we have met with a being possessing, and therefore necessarily exercising, more or less purely and strongly, the moral qualities inherent in his nature, showing by his very superstitions that he is groping after God, if haply he may find him, and by the daily intercourse of society and the tender relations of life, proving the strength or the weakness, but in all cases the real existence, of his moral principles and affections. If it were otherwise, if we had not this foundation to build upon, we should not be able to perceive on what rational grounds any expectation could be formed of that moral regeneration which it is the object of Missionary enterprise to accomplish. It is because He, who causes his sun to shine and his rain to descend on the just and on the unjust, has also continued to inspire mankind of all castes and hues in all ages and nations with the love and admiration of moral goodness, that we may hope for the universal and grateful reception of the brightest and most perfect manifestation of Himself and his will in the person and mission of Jesus Christ. Mr. Malcom, without apparently lessening in the slightest degree his conviction of the importance and necessity of a knowledge of the gospel to heathen nations, is yet able, with an enlarged spirit of Christian benevolence equally honorable to his head and his heart, to perceive much that commands re-

spect in their characters and institutions. Can there be a more beautiful picture of frank and unpretending hospitality than that which is presented in the following passage? Our Missionary traveller was proceeding in a small cutter from Maulmain to Tavoy and Mergui: —

“To avoid three or perhaps four days' delay in going round Tavoy point and up the river, I was set ashore, with a few articles of immediate necessity, at *Moung-magoung*, a small Burman village eight or ten miles' walk from Tavoy. It stands nearly a mile from the shore, with wide paths and good houses beautifully shaded by noble trees, especially the bunyatha or jack, a species of the bread-fruit. While the necessary preparations were being made I was conducted to the cool zayat, and was scarcely seated on its floor of split canes, when a woman brought a nice mat for me to lie on, another presented me with cool water, and the head-man went and plucked for me a half dozen of fine oranges. None sought or expected the least reward, but disappeared and left me to my repose. A constant succession of children, however, came to gaze at the foreigner, and some women, with babes on their hips, squatted at a little distance to gratify their curiosity; all however behaving with decorum and respect. In a Burman village the zayat is the only tavern. It consists of a shed with a floor raised three or four feet from the ground, and wide verandas to keep off the sun. The quality of the building varies with the wealth and generosity of the villagers. Some are truly splendid. As chairs and tables are out of the question, and as every traveller carries his own provisions, here is an ample hotel. The neighbors readily furnish water, and fruits seem free. A little fire kindled near cooks the rice; an hour's slumber follows the unpretending meal, and all things are ready for a start.” — Vol. I. pp. 38, 39.

It will be observed that this is not merely an instance of individual liberality or kindness to a foreigner, but that there is an established public provision for the entertainment of all strangers and travellers; and that the manners of the people have received an impress from the institution, which is evinced by private individuals supplying conveniences and articles of consumption, in addition to the shelter provided at the expense of the village. The preceding extract relates to a Burmese village, and that which follows shows that a still more unbounded and generous hospitality is practised by the Karens, an interesting forest and mountain tribe found in the Burmese territories: —

" Though we lodged each night in the boat, we spent our time and ate among the people. The glance thus gained at native character was very gratifying. We saw no house where poverty seemed to dwell (though we passed through four or five villages) and no disorder in any place. Whenever we stopped to eat we entered a house freely, and were immediately offered clean mats, and treated with the utmost hospitality. Able and willing to supply our wants, they sometimes expostulated with the servant as he was cooking our meals, that he had brought rice and fowls, instead of allowing them to furnish our table. This trait is prevalent among the Karens. Native assistants go from village to village among them, even where the gospel has never been heard, and take literally neither scrip nor purse. They are bountifully supplied, even where their message meets only with opposition. Mr. Vinton, on one occasion, went several days' journey among Karen villages, without servant or food. Everywhere they killed for him their best fowls, and spread before him rice, fruits, and honey, and whatever they had, and gave him their best place to sleep." — Vol. I. p. 57.

Thus, even hostility to the religion which the missionary teaches does not place him beyond the pale of their kindness. In another passage, (p. 90,) Mr. Malcom speaks not only of the hardihood, skill, and energy, but also of the good humor of Burmese boatmen. "The strength and energy with which they surmount difficulties transcend anything I ever saw among the boatmen on our own western waters, and in point of temper and morality, they are immeasurably superior. In this trip, and my various previous ones, I have never seen a quarrel, or heard a hard word. Cross accidents have occurred, and we have frequently been entangled with other boats, but all difficulties have been met and surmounted with good temper, and even hilarity." In a general estimate of the Burmese character, (p. 187–193,) while he dwells on the prevalence of thieving and pilfering, lying, intrigue, and chicanery, uncleanness, &c., he at the same time illustrates the universality of habits of temperance, the general modesty of demeanor between the sexes, the affection of parents to their female as well as male children, the reverence of children for their parents, the deference shown for the aged, and the care and tenderness with which they are maintained when sick. Even of the Malays, whose revengeful disposition and habits of treachery are proverbial amongst Europeans throughout the East,



Mr. Malcom has the candor to remark, that "there is full reason to believe, that in intercourse with each other, domestic and private virtues prevail to as great an extent as among other heathen;" and, after an interview with the Pra Klang, or minister for foreign affairs at the Siamese court, at which fruits, sweetmeats, and cheroots (cigars) were frequently handed, and for drink, tea in little cups, and the juice of pine-apples in flowing bumpers, he exclaims, "How dignified, rational, and virtuous such beverages, compared to the spirituous potations, demanded by the hospitalities of more civilized races!" Our object in these references, is not to show that the natives of the East are immaculate and perfect models of every virtue, but that they have good as well as bad qualities, and that there is a disposition on the part of our author, the absence of which we have often had occasion to lament in others, to do them justice, by bringing into view the favorable as well as the unfavorable side of the picture. In this view, Mr. Malcom's concluding remarks on the Burmese character are distinguished by impartiality and good sense:—

"This brief delineation of character may serve to show how distorted and partial are the views which mere theorists take of heathen society. Formerly, it was the fashion to ascribe the greatest purity and dignity to an uncivilized and primitive state of manners, and to expatiate on the crimes, follies, and effeminacy of more artificial and polished communities. More recently, it has been the fashion to consider all, who have not received our customs and our religion, as sunk in degradation; devoid of every natural and moral excellence, and destitute of every species of human happiness. The truth, as to Burmah at least, lies between these extremes."

The same discrimination is shown in estimating the character and effects of the Burmese religion; for while, on one occasion, (p. 60,) we find Mr. Malcom speaking with even exaggerated contempt of what he admits to be "a harmless and merry custom," yet elsewhere, (p. 66,) he maintains, that "the morals of the people would greatly suffer by the loss of their religious system, if no other were to be substituted." But the most remarkable passage illustrating this view, is the following:—

"No false religion, ancient or modern, is comparable to this. Its philosophy is, indeed, not exceeded in folly by any other; but its doctrines and practical piety bear a strong resemblance to

those of holy Scripture. There is scarcely a principle or precept in the Bedagat which is not found in the Bible. Did the people but act up to its principles of peace and love, oppression and injury would be known no more within their borders. Its deeds of merit are in all cases either really beneficial to mankind, or harmless. It has no mythology of obscene and ferocious deities ; no sanguinary or impure observances ; no self-inflicted tortures ; no tyrannizing priesthood ; no confounding of right and wrong, by making certain iniquities laudable in worship. In its moral code, its descriptions of the peace and purity of the first ages, of the shortening of man's life because of his sins, &c., it seems to have followed genuine traditions. In almost every respect, it seems to be the best religion which man has ever invented."

This is high praise ; and although qualified, it is not lessened, by the essential atheism of the religion thus described, and by its doctrine of merit, which, according to our author, produces selfishness and pride, and would annihilate sympathy, tenderness, benevolence, and gratitude, had not the divine hand "planted the rudiments" of these virtues "in the human constitution." To our mind there is something very cheering in this view of the moral character and religious systems of the heathen world. No one who justly appreciates the light which the gospel has shed on the path of duty in a present world and on the hopes of the world to come, and estimates aright the darkness which veils both worlds to the minds of those on whom that light has not shone, can doubt that Christianity is the last best gift of God to man, and that man owes no higher duty to man than to diffuse its glorious influences. But, while we cherish this conviction in all its strength, we yet feel it to be exhilarating to reflect, when we cast our eyes over the vast expanse of the heathen world and the hundreds of millions of human beings whom it includes, that the divine image impressed on the soul of man has not been effaced even under the most unfavorable circumstances, and that the errors into which he has fallen, however gross and degrading, do not and cannot destroy the never dying principles of his moral and spiritual nature. If, after the necessarily superficial view which Mr. Malcom took of the countries he traversed, he found so many redeeming features in the character and religion of the people, is it not probable that a nearer insight into native character and society would have revealed a depth of devotional feeling, a strength of practical piety, an amount of social

excellence, and treasures of domestic affection, of which no account has been taken? In the heathen as well as in the Christian world, in every human soul, even in those unblessed with the special revelations of the Almighty, there is a perpetual contest going on between light and darkness, between truth and goodness on the one hand, and error and evil on the other. The powers of darkness often triumph; but nowhere do they triumph without a struggle, perpetually maintained, even in the midst of disaster and defeat. Christianity has an ally even in those hearts in which error has obtained the ascendancy, and when the light of nature is reinforced by the light of revelation, when the inherent love of truth and goodness which, however weakened, is never eradicated, shall be strengthened by the motives and examples of the gospel, presented in all their simplicity and urged in all their force, we should anticipate with confidence an encouraging degree of success. Let not missionaries, at least, raise obstacles in their own path, by rejecting the aids which the state of morals and of religion, of society and of literature in heathen countries presents. Everything heathen is not to be proscribed. Even in Christian countries we derive from past systems of heathen literature some of our noblest inspirations, and the institutions of modern heathenism sometimes afford most invaluable instruments of good, if we will deign to employ them. Those whom we are accustomed somewhat contemptuously to designate as heathens, are human beings, and all human beings are God's moral and rational creatures, framed in his image, and partaking of his spirit, which he has breathed into all, and denied not to them.

In strange contrast with the generally liberal tone of Mr. Malcom's sentiments towards Burmans, Karens, Malays, &c., it is with surprise that we find him exhibiting a different spirit towards others, certainly not less entitled to a just estimation of their principles and conduct; and after the terms of respect which we have employed towards him, it is not without pain that we are compelled to speak in the language of censure. The illiberal spirit to which we refer is directed both against the liberal Hindoos of Calcutta and the Roman Catholics of China, in both instances originating apparently in a sectarian bias of mind, and in both instances the means of correction being supplied by Mr. Malcom's own very ample admissions, so that we seem to have two Mr. Malcoms rolled up in one; one candid, discriminating, and judicious, and the other distinguished

by precisely the opposite qualities. Thus, in attempting to show the inexcusableness of China for continuing in idolatry, Mr. Malcom pronounces a high but deserved eulogy on the Roman Catholics who so nobly preceded the Protestant Church in their missionary labors and sacrifices : —

“ Under Innocent IV., in the thirteenth century, the Monguls were made acquainted with Christianity. When Portugal spread her power over the East, her ministers everywhere carried the knowledge of the true God ; and every Catholic country in Europe furnished missionaries and money. Whatever may be said of the priests, who from that time pressed the introduction of Christianity, and of the corruptions they mixed with it, still it was the glorious doctrine of the Divine Unity. The true God was set before them. Every part of the empire was pervaded by the discussion of the new faith. Prime ministers, princesses, queens, and emperors, became converts and patrons. Thousands and tens of thousands saw and acknowledged the truth. Numerous distinguished youth were taught and trained by a body of priests, distinguished in all ages for learning and science. True, they were Jesuits ; but that very many of them were holy and devoted men, is proved by their pure lives, severe labors, innumerable privations, and serene martyrdom. The youth thus taught formed the flower of the country, and never could have divested themselves of the conviction of the folly of Boodhism. It was not till the comparatively late period of 1722, when the emperor Yung Ching set himself furiously to the work, that persecution became wholly destructive ; nor was Christianity wholly put down, and the places of worship demolished, till the reign of Kea-king, who came to the throne in 1795. Even now, there are Catholic Christians scattered over the country. Many of their priests remain, and almost every year fresh ones contrive to enter ; while native preachers keep together, here and there, little bodies of disciples. Thus, almost without cessation, has China been summoned to forsake her abominations.” — Vol. II. pp. 189, 190.

There is here no apparent indisposition to recognise Roman Catholic Missionaries as suffering and laboring in the same cause with their Protestant brethren, in teaching the glorious doctrine of the Divine Unity, and in summoning the people of China to forsake their abominations, and it is for Mr. Malcom to reconcile this merited tribute to their zeal, their long-suffering, and their persevering devotedness, with the sentiment expressed in the following passage. “ *It is a great mercy that China*



*should be shut at present to Christian teachers.* Were it otherwise Protestants are without persons to send, *while Popish priests abound in the East and would instantly enter in great numbers, making the field worse for us, if possible, than now.*" (p. 166.) O what a falling off is here! The inconsistency of this language with the preceding is its least demerit. A great mercy that China is shut to Christian teachers — that a third of the human race are deprived of the possibility of hearing the sound of the gospel by the unrighteous and tyrannical act of a despotic government! Does Mr. Malcom reflect on the impiety of thus confounding the act of Him who wills that all men should be saved and should come to the knowledge of the truth, with that of those who in ignorance or in pride raise barriers to its progress? Does he reflect on the self-condemnation he has pronounced, when he declares that "for us," that is, for Protestant Missionaries, China would present a worse field after the labors of Popish priests, who by the sacrifices they make and the dangers to which they expose themselves prove that they are the worthy successors of those holy and devoted missionaries whom he has eulogized, than it is now without any such previous culture? But we are unwilling to dwell on this painful exhibition. The account given of Rammohun Roy and the liberal Hindoos of Calcutta contains no sentiment so revolting as that to which we have just adverted, but it is inconsistent with itself, it is incorrect in important matters of fact, and on the whole presents a distorted, prejudiced, and imperfect view of the character and labors of the distinguished Reformer whom we have mentioned, and of the liberal Hindoos of Calcutta. As it contains a good deal that may interest our readers we present it entire in this place: —

"The conspicuousness of the late Rammohun Roy, and the eclat given for a time to the reformation, which he was supposed to be effecting, called me to his meeting with feelings of no ordinary interest. The Rev. Mr. Lacroix, to whom the language is perfectly familiar, kindly took me to the *Bromha Sobha*, as the congregation is called, and interpreted for me the substance of the various exercises. We found the place to be a commodious hall, in a respectable Hindu dwelling-house. There was no idol, or idolatrous representation of any kind. On a small stage, raised about eighteen inches from the floor, handsomely carpeted, sat cross-legged two respectable-looking pundits. One side of the room was spread with clean cloths for the native attend-

ants, who sat after the manner of the country ; and on the other were chairs for the accommodation of strangers. In the centre, and opposite to the rostrum, lay some native musical instruments, and a violin. The room was well lighted, and the punkas of course waved overhead.

"One of the pundits opened the services by reading Sunscrit, from a loose palm-leaf held in his hand, stopping at every two or three words, to expound and enforce. The subject was *knowledge* — what it was, and what it was not, &c. Abstract ethical questions were discussed, not unlike the fashion of the old scholastics ; but no moral deductions were made, nor anything said to improve the hearers. The whole discourse must have been unintelligible to most of them.

"The other then read a discourse in Bengalee, consisting chiefly of explanations of their religious system, and encomiums on it. He particularly dwelt on its liberality ; boasting that they quarrelled with no name or persuasion ; and assuring us, that it was of no consequence, whether we worshipped idols, Mahomet, Jesus Christ, or the Virgin Mary ; that it was not possible to come to any certain knowledge respecting religious things ; and that if any man believed his way to be right, that way was right for him. These discourses extended to about an hour ; and the rest of the time, about another hour, was occupied with music. At the close of the preaching, professed musicians advanced to the instruments, and, seating themselves on the mats, put them in tune, with the usual amount of discord. Two of them then sang several hymns, with instruments accompanying it. The themes were the unity of the Divine Essence, and the various attributes of majesty and power. No one joined the strain, nor were there any books to enable them to do so. Nothing could be less reverent or devotional, than the manner of the musicians. They looked about them with all possible self-complacency, making unmeaning gestures, bowing and blinking to each other, and vociferating with such a nasal twang, that it was a relief when they had finished. I thought it was literally such music as the poet speaks of — intended 'to soothe the savage breasts ;' for, certainly, no other could well endure it.

On their retiring, a very different singer took the place, and proceeded for half an hour with great power of execution, and not a little taste. His voice was uncommonly fine. He accompanied himself skilfully on the native guitar. The violin had been well played from the beginning, and the music was now truly excellent, furnishing, I was informed, a fair specimen of the best Bengal art. The singer, as well as the violinist, is distinguished at the nautch entertainments of the city. The subject

was still the attributes of God. The Bengalee language has, for this purpose, a noble advantage over ours, in numerous expressions derived from the Sanscrit, which utter in a *single word* what may be called the negative attributes, and which we cannot express with brevity; such as, 'He that needs no refuge;' 'He that is never perplexed;' 'He that can never grow weary,' &c. The singer used these epithets with great majesty; using animated gestures, and with a countenance finely varying with the theme. At the close of this exercise, the assembly broke up.

"No female was present, nor do any ever attend. Most of the congregation came in only in time to hear the music, and stood near the staircase, not without disorder. The number of the regular attendants was not over twenty. I am informed, thirty is the largest number ever present. The spectators were somewhat more numerous.

"Few of the professed adherents are so confident of their rectitude, as to detach themselves wholly from the common religious customs, though more negligent in these matters than their neighbors. The very pundits officiate, not because converts to these opinions, (for such they do not profess to be,) but because regularly *paid* for their services. One of them, in his discourse this evening, expressly told us that there was no impropriety in worshipping idols—a doctrine which Rammohun Roy would not admit. The musicians also are paid, and perform here for the same reasons that they do at a nautch, so that the whole concern is sustained by the money of a few friends, and descendants of Rammohun Roy.

"Such is the boasted reformation of Rammohun Roy! Not another congregation of his followers is found in all India! Of his labors as a reformer, this is the sum:—Fifty or a hundred persons rendered negligent of the national religion, or gathered here because they were so before, without being a whit the better in their private life or public influence; in some cases, adding the sins of Europeans to those of their countrymen; without being disentangled from the horrid system of the Shasters; without being ready, or without the moral courage, to restore to their own wives and daughters the rights of human nature. With all the superiority to prejudice and custom, boasted by Rammohun Roy, he did nothing for the elevation of the sex.

"A striking instance of this occurred, not very long since, in the case of D. T., one of his most intelligent followers. This gentleman is a partner in a European house, in the habit of mixing with European gentlemen, and evidently much more enlightened than most of his countrymen. Yet was he so much

under the influence of Hindu public opinion, as to marry his daughter to a Ku-len Brahmin, for the purpose of elevating the family above the reproach occasioned by one of his ancestors, with many others, having been compelled to eat beef, by a Mahometan enemy named Per Ali. The young lady is well educated, reads and writes English, and is remarkably intelligent. The Brahmin is as ignorant as the rest of his class, and will probably marry others, as avarice or caprice may move him. Brahmins of this caste may marry *any number* of wives, but are not bound to live with them. They not unfrequently leave a wife after a few weeks, and never see her again. She is thus doomed to hopeless widowhood, merely to gratify the ambition of her family. Thus completely is Rammohun Roy's principal disciple under the influence of a thralldom, which that great man professed to despise. A good school would have done more than all that has been accomplished by the Bromha Sobha. We should expect pupils, who had become so far released from Hindu prejudice, to advance to a complete emancipation. But this people show no tendency to advance; they have long stood still; and everything already wears an aspect of decrepitude and decay. What a monument of the entire inefficacy of unassisted reason, to ameliorate the religious condition of any people! Already may the undertaking of this truly great man be pronounced a failure; and soon all traces of it will be lost from the earth.

"Rammohun Roy established a weekly newspaper, called the Reformer, which was intended chiefly to excite among those Hindus, who understand English, a desire for improvement in their civil condition. It is yet continued, edited by an intelligent native; though incorporated now with a Calcutta paper, conducted by a European. It has often contained well-written papers against Churruck Pooja, Ku-len marriages, and the other abominations of the Hindu system, and is, doubtless, as at present conducted, a valuable journal.

"Rammohun Roy was not a Unitarian Christian, but a Unitarian Hindu. He believed that there was such a person as Jesus Christ, and that he was the best moral teacher the world ever saw; but regarded his death as having no efficacy of atonement. His capacious mind, and extensive knowledge of the Shasters, impelled him to abhor the abominations of the Veda, and the monstrosities of its thirty-three millions of gods. But he found in the Vedanta Sar, (an exposition of the four Vedas,) a sort of Unitarianism, which he endeavored on all occasions to disseminate. The doctrine might as well be called pantheism; for it maintains the old Pythagorean doctrine, that God is the soul of the world, and that every animal, plant, or stone, is therefore part of Deity.



It makes perfect religion to consist in knowledge alone, or the realizing in everything the Supreme Being ; and excludes ceremonies of all kinds." — Vol. II. pp. 30 – 33.

In this account there are several mistakes, which are worthy of notice only as showing the loose form in which Mr. Malcom must have received his information, or the inadequate authority on which it rests. Rammohun Roy did not establish the weekly newspaper in the English language, called "The Reformer." At different periods he established and conducted the *Mirat ool Ukkbar* in Persian, and the *Sambad Caumudi*, in Bengalee. He did not abhor the abominations of the Veda, and the monstrosities of its thirty-three millions of gods, inasmuch as such monstrosities and abominations are not found in the Veda. As a Unitarian, it was his express object and endeavor to revive among his countrymen in Bengal, the pure forms of faith and worship taught in the Veda, which, in his opinion, were as distinct from the absurdities of the modern Hindu mythology, as is the New Testament from the legends of the Romish church. The *Vedanta Sar* is not an exposition of the four Vedas, but of the Vedanta system, that one of the six Hindu theologico-philosophical schools, which is expressly founded on the spiritual portions of the Vedas, and which most fully and satisfactorily maintains and illustrates the doctrine of the divine unity and the spirituality of the divine nature. The *Vedanta Sar* is a modern and unauthoritative exposition of the doctrines of this system ; and it was not in that work that he found the "sort of Unitarianism" which he taught his countrymen, but in the Upanishads, or spiritual portions of the Vedas, some of which he first printed both in original and translation.

These are small matters. Nor do we greatly blame Mr. Malcom, when he describes Rammohun Roy as being not a Unitarian Christian, but a Unitarian Hindu ; as teaching a sort of Unitarianism, which he calls pantheism ; as maintaining that God is the soul of the world, and that every animal, plant, or stone is part of the Deity ; and as making perfect religion consist in knowledge alone ; for these are misapprehensions which are probably common to him with many others. That Rammohun Roy was not a Unitarian Christian to the extent of a full and undoubting recognition of the authority of Christ as a teacher sent from God, we believe Mr. Malcom correctly

affirms ; but we are equally satisfied that he is mistaken in stating that Rammohun Roy was a Unitarian Hindu. It might with equal truth be affirmed that he was a Musalman, since it was from the Koran that he first derived his belief in the Divine Unity, and to the latest period of his residence in India he maintained friendly relations with learned and intelligent adherents of that faith. In the strict sense of these terms, he was none of the three, for he held only what is common to all, without admitting or denying what is peculiar to each. He believed that the Unity of God, taught equally in its purity by Unitarian Christians, by Unitarian Hindus, and by Musalmans, was the great and fundamental doctrine of all religion, and that the maintenance and diffusion of it would be the most effectual means of striking a fatal blow at polytheism, idolatry, and superstition, and all their degrading influences. This appears to us to have been his master-thought, the leading conception which tinged and moulded, penetrated and pervaded all his ideas, and plans, and publications ; and we hold, too, that it was a conception worthy of the master-mind that formed it. Even Unitarian Christians, we believe, with all their tendency to exaggerate the importance of the doctrine from which they are named and characterized, take in general a very narrow and inadequate view of its comprehensive bearings, especially in idolatrous, polytheistic, and atheistic communities. Of the various systems of faith existing among his countrymen, he selected that of the Vedant school as the purest and most enlightened ; but we have no idea that he would have held himself bound to an unquestioning adoption of all its dogmas. The Vedanta system may be regarded either as a system of religion or of philosophy. As a system of religion, it certainly "makes perfect religion consist in knowledge alone" ; not, however, in knowledge as a mere intellectual exercise or acquirement, but in the true knowledge of God as distinguished from the outward observances of mere ceremonial worship ; and in this it teaches the very doctrine of the Apostle Paul, that by the works or observances of the law, no flesh living can be justified. So far from knowledge *in intellectu* being regarded as of exclusive importance, we have no hesitation in saying that, out of the sacred Scriptures, we have met with no more touching or sublimer expressions of devotional feeling, — touching and sublime from their very simplicity, — than those that are to be found in the spiritual portions of the Vedas, which

constitute the bases and authorities of the Vedanta system. It is not improbable that future research may trace the first germ of Gnosticism to this system; and when we look at it as a system of philosophy, it is still more obvious that we discover in it the original type of Bishop Berkeley's theory respecting the immateriality of the visible world, or rather his doctrine respecting the absence of proof to establish its materiality. The pantheism, — if pantheism it may be called, — which Mr. Malcom describes, we believe to be wholly unknown to the Vedant. To our apprehension, indeed, pantheism is not identical with maintaining that God is the soul of the world; and, from the supposition that God is the soul of the world, it does not follow, that every animal, plant, or stone is part of the Deity, any more than it follows from the union of the human soul with the human body, that every limb of the latter is part and parcel of the former. However this may be, no such pantheism is taught in the Vedanta. Its cardinal doctrine is that God alone has a true and real existence; that he alone is, and that all other beings and objects exist only in our conceptions, possess only an imaginary and delusive subsistence. In the struggling efforts of the human mind to form the purest possible conception of the divine nature, the followers of the Vedanta philosophy teach that God is a being who cannot be correctly described by epithets, as great and powerful, good, just, and true. He is not great and powerful, but greatness and power; not good, and just, and true, but goodness, justice, and truth. God is a spirit, and they that worship him must worship him as true and essential spirit. This may be philosophy falsely so called, or it may contain a vein, to be yet farther worked, of pure religion and of sound philosophy; but it is not at least Mr. Malcom's pantheism, nor did Rammohun Roy "endeavor on all occasions" or on any occasion "to disseminate" such doctrines as are ascribed to him.

To misapprehend the doctrines of a school of Hindoo philosophers and theologians, may appear a very pardonable offence in a passing traveller; and even when this misapprehension involves grave misrepresentations, confidently delivered, of the doctrines taught by the most distinguished Hindoo reformer of modern times, and still maintained by his followers and friends, we are disposed rather to express our regret than to pronounce a severe censure. But when we find him not merely misunderstanding unfamiliar speculations, but overlooking palpable

and important facts, within the reach of any inquirer, and even broadly condemning Rammohun Roy for his neglect of a department of philanthropic labor, in which his merits were most prominent and undeniable, we feel that the language of condemnation may be retorted without injustice. Mr. Malcom remarks that "a good school would have done more than all that has been accomplished by the Bromha Sobha," the weekly meeting of Rammohun Roy's followers which he established for the purposes of worship and instruction, the implication being that he neglected and undervalued education. If, in estimating the character and labors of Rammohun Roy, Mr. Malcom had taken the same comprehensive view as that with which he regarded the Burmese religion, he would not have sought to depreciate the establishment of this periodical assembly in a nation of idolaters, possessing in their own institutions not even the conception of what we mean by united worship of the Deity, and public moral and religious instruction. But whatever the merit or success of Rammohun Roy in presenting this conception to the minds of his adherents, and in attempting to give it the practical force of a habit, he did not for this object, as is implied by Mr. Malcom, undervalue the importance of education, or neglect the means of promoting it among his countrymen. He promoted it by the most disinterested sacrifices, both by what he did and by what he left undone. He promoted it by consenting to remain a silent and inactive spectator when that useful and efficient institution, the Hindoo College, was established at the suggestion of European gentlemen by the wealthy Hindoos of Calcutta, about the year 1815, a time when the prejudice against him ran very high among his countrymen, and when he was assured by his European friends that his interference and support would prove more hurtful than salutary, by alarming the jealousy and calling into activity the bigotry and intolerance of his opponents. But he was not always content to remain thus silent, especially when he judged that a wrong direction was about to be given to the efforts of the friends of education. When the Government Sanscrit College was about to be established, and when, as he supposed, a barren and merely oriental course of instruction was about to be prescribed, he remonstrated against such a design in a spirited letter to Lord Amherst, the Governor-General, from which Mr. Malcom quotes, (vol. ii. p. 25,) without apparently understanding the circumstances that called



it forth, or the special object he had in view, which was to show the comparative worthlessness of much of what is called Hindoo learning, and the value and importance of the pure and useful science which he was desirous should be communicated from European sources to his countrymen. Subsequently, he built expensive school-rooms, and established a school at his own cost, both for the encouragement of the more useful branches of native learning, and for instruction in the English language and in the science and literature which it contains, although it was the latter department only that went into operation. Still more recently, entirely disregarding sectarian differences and distinctions, he gave his cordial and zealous support and influence to Mr. Duff in the establishment of the institution in Calcutta connected with the General Assembly of the church of Scotland for the promotion of native education; an institution formed and conducted on strictly Christian and Orthodox principles, and now numbering, we believe, about one thousand pupils. He encouraged also a public-spirited and wealthy friend and adherent to establish a large English school on his estate in one of the interior districts of Bengal, and to place it under the superintendence of the General Assembly's missionaries. These are merely desultory facts which occur to our recollection while we write; and if we had leisure or materials to fill up the outline, it would still more fully appear that Rammohun Roy was a steady, enlightened, and self-sacrificing friend of education, and that in assuming his indifference or neglect, Mr. Malcom only proves his own culpable carelessness in collecting information, or the prejudiced and untrustworthy character of the sources from which in this instance it has been derived.

Even this culpability dwindles into insignificance, when compared with the recklessness of truth and justice exhibited in the allegation, that "with all the superiority to prejudice and custom boasted by Rammohun Roy, **HE DID NOTHING FOR THE ELEVATION OF THE (FEMALE) SEX.**" Rammohun Roy was not a man to boast of his superiority to prejudice and custom, much less would he boast of anything he did for the benefit of others; but that a friend of humanity and religion, professing to have formed a well-weighed estimate of his character from local inquiry, should assert that he did nothing for the elevation of the female sex, although it cannot now pain him, perhaps never could have pained his lofty and generous spirit, must sound

strangely in the ears of those who enjoyed his friendship, who witnessed his labors, and who continue to venerate his memory, even more for what he did in the cause of woman than in any other and all other causes whatsoever. To whom did Mr. Malcom apply, from whom did he obtain this information? The Rev. Mr. Pearce with whom, it appears, he resided in Calcutta; the Rev. Mr. Yates whom he eulogizes; the Rev. Mr. La Croix whom he employed as a Bengalee interpreter, all could, and no doubt would, have given him a very different account, for they are good men and true, and they know what were Rammohun Roy's unwearied and successful labors to preserve the lives and to vindicate the rights of hundreds of Hindoo women annually sacrificed by avarice, bigotry, and fraud, on the funeral piles of their deceased husbands. During the last nine years it has been, and it is at present, illegal for a Hindoo widow to burn after the death of her husband, or with his dead body, or for any one to aid and abet her in such a sacrifice of her life, throughout the wide extent of the British territories in India, embracing a population of nearly a hundred millions of human beings. Previous to the act prohibiting the practice, passed by the British Indian Government during Lord William Bentinck's Governor-Generalship, from three to four hundred widows were annually thus immolated. To whom does humanity owe the abolition of this murderous rite, the annual preservation of so many lives? We have heard with astonishment that this merit has, in this city, been claimed by, or attributed to, a well known traveller and lecturer, Mr. James Silk Buckingham, although it is probable that our information on this subject is incorrect; for that gentleman must be aware, that he had no more to do with the abolition of the practice than hundreds who lamented its existence, and expressed an opinion against its further toleration. To the distinguished and enlightened statesman we have mentioned as Governor-General of British India must doubtless be ascribed, in the first place and in the highest sense, the honor of achieving this bloodless and blood-saving triumph. But next to him, and before any one else, it belongs to Rammohun Roy. In weighing the whole subject, in resolving on the measure, and in considering the grounds on which it should be placed, in order that it might be accomplished effectually and safely, Lord William Bentinck was in frequent communication with Rammohun Roy, whose knowledge, experience, and advice were

highly valued. Long before this period, Rammohun Roy had been laboriously employed on the same subject, endeavoring both to awaken the attention of the British Government and of the European community to the enormity of the evil, and to enlighten the minds of his countrymen. For this purpose, he wrote at different times and extensively circulated several pamphlets, both in English and Bengalee, proving that it was not an essential doctrine of the Hindoo religion ; that many authorities did not prescribe it ; that the highest authorities did not make it obligatory, but left it optional ; and that it was equally opposed to the dictates of religion and humanity. He also exposed the modern abuses of the rite, such as the administration of drugs to the victims to stupefy them, and the application of force to prevent their escape from the pile. Penetrating still more thoroughly than it was possible for a European to do the support which the practice derived from the despair of the unhappy victims and the cupidity of their relatives, he proved, in a separate tract, that widows, if they did not burn, instead of being treated, according to Hindoo custom, as menials in the houses of their deceased husbands, were entitled, according to Hindoo law, to a separate maintenance from their husbands' estates, and that this ought to be fully secured to them, so that they might have a motive to desire life, and the means to enjoy it in comfort and respect. By these means he equally exposed himself to the ill will of his countrymen who cherished a practice producing so many martyrs to the glory of the Hindoo religion and race, and of timid and ill-informed Europeans in office who dreaded the effect of abolition on the stability of the government. With little aid from others, amid many discouragements, he pursued his course ; he held and made good his ground as he advanced ; and he lived to witness the prohibition of the rite, to head a deputation of Europeans and natives to thank the Governor-General for the abolition of the practice, and to know that his countrymen had universally submitted to the measure almost without a murmur or objection. The philanthropist who thus wrote, and labored, and suffered, and triumphed, is he who, according to Mr. Malcom, *did nothing for the elevation of the female sex !*

The account given of a religious service, which Mr. Malcom witnessed at the Bromha Sobha, (Brahma Sabha,) is, we believe, generally correct ; but the remarks interspersed show that the whole was regarded with a jaundiced eye by himself or his

interpreter. "Abstract ethical questions," we are told, "were discussed, not unlike the fashion of the old scholastics; but no moral deductions were made, nor anything said to improve the hearers. The whole discourse must have been unintelligible." It is difficult to understand how *ethical* questions should be discussed without *moral* deductions being made, or at least implied; and we should think, on the whole, that the preacher was a better judge of what would improve his hearers than two casual Christian spectators. But the worst that appears so far is, that the discussion of abstract questions, the revival of old scholastics, and the teaching of what is unintelligible, is not peculiar to Christian pulpits and orthodox preachers, which we must admit to be matter of regret.

If the introductory discourse, which appears to have been expository of a portion of the Vedas, and therefore somewhat obscure to those who were unacquainted with the original passage, was unintelligible, the same fault could not be found with the second address, which, according to Mr. Malcom, taught a lax indifference to all forms of worship and systems of belief, but which we should infer, even from his own account, taught the much more defensible doctrine of the salvability of the sincere in heart, whatever the errors of form and of faith into which they may fall. We have met with this doctrine in the writings of orthodox divines, amongst whom we may mention Bishop Heber, a writer whom Mr. Malcom quotes with respect. We think, also, that we have met with it in the writings of the Apostle Paul, and in a recorded discourse by the Apostle Peter. How easy it would have been, if "they that were of the circumcision" had listened with the *animus* of Mr. Malcom and his friend to the Apostle Peter's discourse, to have caricatured the declaration, "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is accepted with him," as teaching that it was of no consequence whether we worshipped idols, Mahomet, Jesus Christ, or the Virgin Mary. To sit in the seat of the scornful, is not the disposition of mind with which any one is likely to know of the doctrine whether it be of God.

Mr. Malcom does not stickle at assertions. Few of the adherents of this sect, it is alleged, are sincere and consistent; an assertion too general for us to refute, and, we should have supposed, too general for him to make. To their own master they stand or fall. The very pundits, the learned men who



conduct the services, do not officiate, it is added, because converts to these opinions (for such they do not profess to be). This is a specific charge, and can be met specifically. Ram Chandra Sarmana Vidyavagis has presided over the meetings of the Brabma Sabha, and conducted its services, since its first establishment by Rammohun Roy who regarded him with the affection and esteem of a personal friend. We know him to be profoundly learned, and we believe him to be a man of conscientious principles, of pure life, and of sincere piety. Any assistance he receives from other pundits is, we believe, occasional and desultory, and of these we cannot speak, because even in repelling what we believe to be a calumny, we will not permit ourselves to follow the bad example of speaking at random and in sweeping terms, of persons with whom we may be unacquainted. But the pundits are regularly *paid* for their services; and this is mentioned as a circumstance derogatory to their character by one who has, we are informed, himself officiated as a salaried pastor of a Christian congregation! The musicians too are paid, and perform for the same reasons that they do at a nautch, or native dancing-party; but Mr. Malcom omitted to add, in connexion with this fact, that the cathedral service of Calcutta, under the supervision of an orthodox and pious bishop, is regularly aided in its devotions by paid professional singers who perform at the Chouringhee Theatre.

After all this miserable carping, Mr. Malcom winds up with exclaiming, "Such is the boasted reformation of Rammohun Roy"! He attends a single service of two hours' duration, conducted in a language which he does not understand, and is dependent for every idea he receives on the interpretation of a gentleman whose vocation brings him almost daily into hostile conflict with those whose religion he is called on to explain, and against whom his feelings are embittered as the most formidable, because the most rational, opponents he encounters. The consequence is an account, in almost every line of which missionary prejudice and bigotry appear; and in this single service, so conducted, and so interpreted, and so understood, our missionary traveller finds materials sufficient to determine the value of the labors of a "truly great man," during the whole period of life; labors, carried on in England as well as in India embracing the reformation of religious opinion, of social manners, and of civil and political condition; conducted in at least four different languages, Persian, Sanscrit, Bengalee, and English; labors, which brought on him the displeasure of

Hindu brahmins, of Mohammedan maulavis, and of Christian bishops, priests, and missionaries ; which made him an object of legal as well as of social persecution ; which, under all disadvantages, have produced an important effect upon the face of Hindu society in Bengal, and which, with advancing years, will continue to be felt with accelerated force. Before Mr. Malcom and his informants can even comprehend Rammohun Roy's character and labors, they have yet much to learn, and we should perhaps add, much also to unlearn. Born a Hindu of the Hindus, as Paul was a Hebrew of the Hebrews, he had every inducement to acquiesce in the system of religion which by divine right gave him so distinguished and privileged a place ; but in early life he freed himself from the shackles of idolatry, and opened his mind to the grand and elevating idea of One Universal Father, which he retained with firm conviction to his latest breath. Nor was this a barren conception. His mind expanded in benevolence towards all his brethren of mankind, and his life was spent in their service. With an original capacity for metaphysical reasoning, refined and strengthened by cultivation in the school of Hindoo logic, he employed his profound and various learning to attack the complicated system of Hindoo idolatry, which in Calcutta we consider that he chiefly has contributed to shake to its foundations, although the time is probably yet far distant when it will wholly disappear from even a single city of India. In this controversy, even Christian missionaries have been glad to avail themselves of the resources brought into use by his acute mind, and to borrow arrows from his quiver without acknowledgment. He labored, as we have shown, in the cause of education. He labored to protect the rights and to save the lives of Hindoo widows. He took a deep interest in every political movement throughout the civilized world, favorable to civil and political liberty. He labored in conversation and by writing, through the medium of the press and by evidence given before Parliamentary Committees, during his residence in England, to give a right direction to the measures then in progress for the future government of British India. In his whole career, we see the good as well as the great man, the patriot and philanthropist as well as the philosopher ; and the effect of such a career and of such an example, is not to be measured in the narrow spirit of sectarianism, inspired by those who opposed and counteracted him in life, and who now, since the grave has closed over him, would depreciate and misrepresent his labors.

Rammohun Roy employed none of the disciplinary tact and policy of John Wesley. He endeavored, indeed, to establish the forms and practice of public worship and instruction among his friends, but he did not attempt the systematic organization of a sect ; and hence the futility of judging of the number of his followers, or the extent of his influence as a reformer, by the number and character of the auditors and attendants at the Brahma Sabha. That some few of these persons "add the sins of Europeans to those of their countrymen, without being disentangled from the system of the Shasters," is an assertion in conformity with common report in Calcutta, although we have not the knowledge that would enable us either to affirm or deny it. That none of them are "a whit the better in their private life or public influence" for the religion they profess, is an allegation, which, for its establishment, would require a much closer insight into their character than Mr. Malcom or any orthodox missionary has ever obtained, and which our intimacy with, and observation of, many of the individuals in question, compel us to reject as unfounded and unjust. But when he proceeds to say that the liberal Hindoos of Calcutta are not prepared, or have not the moral courage, "to restore to their own wives and daughters the rights of human nature," he shows an utter ignorance of what is going on in the native society of Calcutta. In conformity with the spirit and principles of Rammohun Roy, and with the dictates of their own hearts and minds, the liberal Hindoos of Calcutta are, above and beyond all others, anxious to restore to their wives and daughters the rights of human nature, in opposition to the cruel and immoral system of Kulin polygamy. No other division of the Hindoo community has stood forth as the assailant of this practice ; nowhere have more indignant remonstrances, or better sustained arguments against it, appeared, than in "The Reformer," the organ and advocate of their peculiar views. The instance which he adduces to the contrary, of D. T. marrying his daughter to a Kulin brahman, is wholly without point, as far as the circumstances appear, of which we know nothing but what Mr. Malcom has detailed. Does he mean to condemn D. T. for seeking an alliance for his daughter with a man of purer caste than his own ? In Christian countries it is not deemed derogatory to the Christian character for a father to seek a high connexion for his daughter by marriage ; and, according to Hindoo notions, the effect in

the present case will be, not to raise the wife to the level of the husband, but to degrade the husband to the level of the wife. Does he mean to condemn D. T. specially for marrying her to a Kulin brahman? But because some of that caste marry more wives than one, it does not follow that others should not marry at all. Does he mean to condemn D. T. for marrying his daughter to a Kulin brahman who has married other wives? This he cannot mean, since he expressly says, that the Kulin brahman in question "will *probably* marry others"; whereas the probability appears to us to be, that D. T., for the sake of his daughter, will take care to prevent him from marrying others. This brahman, we are told, "is as ignorant as the rest of his class"; but Mr. Malcom has too readily adopted the common mistake, that the entire class of Kulin brahmans is ignorant, that they are all degraded, and make a demoralizing traffic of themselves. Some do so, and are despised; others respect themselves, reverence public opinion, and will not descend to such infamy. Rammohun Roy was a Kulin brahman, and abhorred Kulin polygamy; and we have known idolatrous Kulin brahmans, who have equally expressed their detestation of it. But admitting all that is assumed or insinuated respecting D. T. and his daughter's marriage, the injustice is committed of condemning a class for the act of a single individual, whom they had neither the power nor the right to control, as a father of a family, and whose conduct in this instance, if Mr. Malcom's view of it is just, is in direct opposition to the sentiments generally entertained by the body.

"But this people," we are assured, "show no tendency to advance; they have long stood still; and everything already wears an aspect of decrepitude and decay." — "Already may the undertaking of this truly great man be pronounced a failure; and soon all traces of it will be lost from the earth." The author had just before informed his readers, that the daughter of D. T., one of Rammohun Roy's most intelligent followers, "is well educated, reads and writes English, and is remarkably intelligent," — a description, which any one even moderately acquainted with Hindoo society, would know could apply only to a Hindoo female, on whose training the most assiduous and unusual attention had been bestowed. The liberal Hindoos of Calcutta are remarkable for this attention to the education of their children, female as well as male; for,



although they will not send their daughters to missionary schools, they either instruct them in person, or employ female teachers to attend in their families for that purpose. They have never been found backward in promoting every public-spirited and benevolent object,—the objects of the School Society, the School Book Society, the Hindoo College, the Government Committee of Public Instruction, the District Charitable Society. In these and in other philanthropic institutions, they have disinterestedly and liberally coöperated with other members of the community; and their exertions and contributions give no indications that they are standing still, without sharing or communicating the onward movement of society. They know the power of the press, and by means of newspapers wield an important influence. "The Reformer," which Mr. Malcom pronounces a valuable journal, containing well written papers against the Charak Puja, Kulin marriages, &c., is wholly in their hands; and on questions of public policy and philanthropy, we have oftener than once had occasion to admire the talent and acuteness its conductors have displayed, while most of their European contemporaries were in wandering mazes lost, for want of local experience and a just knowledge of native character and institutions. Other newspapers, "The Jnananweshan," "The Sambad Caumudi," &c., conducted with more or less ability, are or have been under their control; but the changes in their management are frequent, although the liberal tone is always preserved, and new journals of the same class are often started. As another proof of the mental activity and love of improvement excited among this class, it may be mentioned that about a twelve-month ago a society was formed among the liberal Hindoos of the rising generation, the express objects of which are to strengthen the bonds of fellowship among themselves, to promote the acquisition of knowledge, and to extend the sphere of their usefulness. In June, 1838, we attended the first meeting of the society, at which were present upwards of two hundred young men, some of whom delivered in the Bengalee language most animated and stirring addresses. All this shows that they are not the stagnant and inert body, the decaying and retrograde sect, which they are described to be. Whatever faults and imperfections may belong to them, and however they may be wanting in a principle of cohesion among themselves, it would be altogether unjust to regard them in any other light, than as the most intelligent and

actively benevolent division of Hindoo society in Calcutta. These, in fact, are the men of all others, through whom it may be hoped that improvement will be introduced into the very frame-work of Hindoo society, and into the systems of thought and action by which it is distinguished.

We have gone into these details with greater minuteness than we at first intended; and, in bringing them to a conclusion, we must express our entire conviction that there has been no intentional misrepresentation, although we cannot avoid deeply regretting, that Mr. Malcom should, without sufficient inquiry, have precipitately adopted from others such erroneous and unjust views of the character and labors of an interesting class of Hindoos, from whom much good may be expected; and especially of one, who made it his highest ambition to promote the welfare and improvement of mankind, and who lived, and toiled, and died for his countrymen.

It was our purpose to advert to other subjects which Mr. Malcom has discussed; in some instances to point out the valuable information he has supplied, and in others to express our doubts of the originality which appears to be claimed; in some, to express our assent to, and in others, our dissent from, the conclusions at which he has arrived, as to the measure of missionary success, and the mode of conducting missions. But we have already exceeded our limits, and we, therefore, merely add, that the work, with all its faults, is well worth perusal, and that many of the statements and suggestions it contains are deserving the attention of missionary societies.

W. A.

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#### NOTICES AND INTELLIGENCE.

*Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada.* By Mrs. JAMESON, author of "Characteristics of Women," &c. New York: Wiley and Putnam. 1839. — No English writer of our day has a finer sense of the beautiful, whether in nature or art, than the author of "Characteristics of Women." She has probably done more than any one else of late to diffuse a taste for the fine arts. Her studies have been given to the master-spirits in poetry and elegant letters, and her travels have made her acquainted with the principal artists of the age, and with the masterpieces of ancient and modern genius.

The work before us, giving an account of her studies and rambles in a Canadian winter and summer, is one of the most agreeable, though probably the least elaborate, of her productions.

A Canadian winter, as might well be supposed, struck rather harshly upon the frame of one, accustomed to the milder skies of Europe, and all the luxuries of European life; and the kind of society, in which she found herself at Toronto, did not tend to check her home-sickness, or quiet the longing for more congenial shores, which a spirit so habituated to an atmosphere of poetry and art must feel in a new and rough colonial settlement. And, accordingly, we find that she turned her thoughts to her old studies, and she gives us the results of her reveries and reading in the form of criticisms on various works of art, and takes especial delight in dwelling upon the genius of Goethe, from whose memoirs, by Ekermann, she furnishes copious and most interesting extracts. The view she takes of his personal character is far higher than is common with persons, who have been his critics. If her estimate of him be correct, there is less reason than many allege to distinguish so carefully the literary and private character of the man. Some of his sayings upon religion, as quoted by Mrs. Jameson, are such as to free him from the oft-repeated charge of total indifference, and to add to the conviction, which all, who have read his description of the religious experience of the Fair Saint in *Wilhelm Meister*, cannot but entertain, that the bard of Weimar could not have been an irreligious man.

Occasionally, indeed, Mrs. Jameson found some charms in a Canadian winter, to draw her away from her books. Her description of her excursion in a snow-storm to Niagara, and her first view of the Falls, shows that her poetic taste is not confined exclusively to the criticism of books.

But in summer, her spirit breaks forth from winter seclusion with delight, and in the account of her excursion up Lake Huron, her sketches of scenery, and life, especially Indian life, make the second part of her work remarkably interesting. Much as she mourns over the degraded state of the Indians, she finds poetry even among them, and gives us some songs and allegories, which show, that the spirit of beauty is indeed everywhere.

She appears to look with less pity upon the Indian women than is usual with travellers, and says, that hunting is so arduous, that it must needs take all the care and time of the men, and, therefore, the women are obliged to perform the household, and much of the farming labor. She deems it rather an honor to

them, that they can be so useful, and appears to make a contrast between their usefulness, and the listless, petted lives of English women, which is in no way complimentary to the latter. This subject of female character and duty is more largely treated, than any other in the book. In all she says of woman's true destiny, and actual condition, there is a strain of melancholy, that implies her own existence has not run as smoothly, as could be wished. But she complains so prettily, that the strain is pleasant, and the reader is ready to say with Fazio : —

“ Ay, chide on ;  
The nightingale's complaining is more sweet  
Than half the dull, unvarying birds, that pipe  
Perpetual joy.”

---

*The Moral Teacher ; designed as a Class-Book for the Common Schools in the United States of America.* By a CLERGYMAN. New-York ; Robinson & Franklin. 1839. 12mo. pp. 196. — A want long felt is here at length supplied, and exceedingly well supplied. If our ideal of a volume of Christian morality is not fully realized, but little is wanting, and that little, perhaps, ought not to be, for one's ideal is ever apt to go beyond nature and possibility. Let a beginning be made with this, and then, if a better be needed, a better will soon come to take its place. There should no longer be any delay in making the subjects which it treats a part of common school education, and of education in every school. We shall look by-and-by with astonishment at the fact, that, at so late a period of the world as the present, Christian communities like ours were content, that their children should receive all other instruction in the public school, while their moral and religious education, — the education of the conscience, — was wholly neglected. In the reforms which are now attempting, we trust that the monstrous solecism of schools in a Christian land, which on principle exclude Christianity, will be “ reformed altogether.” We congratulate the author on having succeeded perfectly, — where to succeed has been deemed a thing impossible, — in so setting forth the eternal principles of morals, and of universal religion, as at the same time that he unfolds them clearly and sufficiently, never to confound them with, or make them to be deduced from, the peculiar religious opinions of any sect. To those, who have doubted the possibility of teaching Christian morality in our schools, separately from Christian doctrine, and have, on that ground, opposed its introduction, believing that it would be but a cover for the introduction of sectarian Christianity, we recommend the perusal of this



little volume. They will here find the sum and substance of Christian morality, without a single instance of the inculcation, directly or indirectly, of any theological peculiarity.

The author has been eminently successful, it seems to us also, in overcoming another difficulty ; that, namely, of presenting the various points of moral philosophy in a form to be clearly apprehended by the young ; either in language so simple and perspicuous, or accompanied by such illustrations and examples, that scarce any child of the age for which the compend is designed, can fail to understand them. But, while it is thus adapted to the capacities of young learners, there is enough left for their minds to grapple with. They are aided, but the work is not done for them. And as the volume advances toward its close, the demand upon the pupil, as it should, increases. It will be found, we are persuaded, to form a capital text-book, not only for public and private schools, but for family instruction, and for Sunday School teaching. It is filled with topics, — of which an outline is just given, — of most useful and agreeable discussion, either for children with one another, or with their parents, or teachers. The present treatise, the author has prepared for children of "from eight to twelve years of age." This should be borne in mind by those who examine it. We hope he will feel himself encouraged to go on in the preparation of another volume, "still needed," as he suggests, "for the higher classes in our schools." The work could hardly be committed to a more competent hand.

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*Discourses preached in the New North Church, December 9th, on the completion of the 124th year from the establishment of the Church, and of the 25th year since the settlement of the present pastor.* By FRANCIS PARKMAN, D. D. Boston. 1839. These discourses, delivered on the Sunday which completed the 25th year of the settlement of their author, must be peculiarly interesting to the members of his society, from the rapid and comprehensive sketch they present of their past history, running through a period of an hundred and twenty-four years ; and they are valuable to our community, as constituting important material for the future ecclesiastical historian. They bear upon them distinctive marks of their parentage, in the deep seriousness which pervades them, — relieved here and there by a certain "half-apparent humor," — and in that strong attachment to what is venerable by reason of years and long use, which loves to dwell on the times, the customs, and virtues of the past. Although, however, the author is a lover of the times that are gone,

and of institutions which are hung about with the honors of a grey antiquity, and is no friend of the changes which come with almost every seventh wave of the rolling tide of time, yet is he no bigot in his faith, nor any slave of tradition, but has an eye for the faults and errors of those who have gone before, as well as of those who are now, evident enough in the following paragraph, which we commend to the reader.

“He that shall survey their ecclesiastical annals, [our Fathers’] and observe how often the weak or the fallen were called to judgment; how often the brethren aggrieved appealed to sister churches for redress from the brethren offending; how one council was opposed to another council, and censures and monitions, suspensions and excommunications, were reciprocally interchanged, will be compelled to acknowledge, that our fathers realized but imperfectly the communion of the saints; that whatever may have been their reverence for God, they had not learnt from their Master, compassion for the ignorant, and them out of the way. If we, their children, have lost somewhat of that zeal for God, which was thus jealous for his ordinances, we have learnt, perhaps, something of the charity, which endureth, because it hopeth all things. And amidst a due sense of unworthiness and the humility becoming us, we shall not be solicitous to inquire, why the former days were better than these, for the experience of Solomon conspires with our own, to teach us, that we may not inquire wisely concerning this. — pp. 29, 30.

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*The Monthly Miscellany of Religion and Letters.* — A new religious periodical has been started under the above name, conducted by the Rev. Cazneau Palfrey. The prospectus has been for some time before the public, and we need not repeat its contents. It has our heartiest good wishes for its success, and we see not, when we think of the numbers constituting the Unitarian body, why it should not succeed. There is room for it, and to spare. The numbers, thus far, are both able and interesting. It appears on the first of every month, in an 8vo pamphlet of 48 pages, at three dollars per annum, in advance.

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## TO THE PUBLIC.

Nov 1837

WE take pleasure in presenting the public with the Prospectus of a new Religious and Literary Periodical, which we trust will be found worthy of patronage.

In commencing this work we have received great encouragement from many persons, and have reason to think that our plan has met the views and wishes of a large part of the community. On the other hand we have been advised by some, to give up the idea, on the ground that the work is not wanted—that there is not room for it. Much as we respect the opinions of these persons, we are greatly inclined to doubt their accuracy in this case, and for the following reasons.

In the city of Boston alone, there are at the very lowest estimate 3000 families belonging to our Unitarian parishes. Besides these, there are in the rest of New England about 200 parishes, which, on an average, number at least 150 families each, giving, (with those in Boston) the number of 33,000 families. This we believe all will allow to be within the true estimate.

Now the whole number of subscribers to our periodicals is less than 4000 ! !—many of these too, are out of New England. Will any of our readers think seriously of this, and then say that there is not room for another? We think not. It has been said that among the Unitarian community, there is more intellect and wealth in proportion to their numbers, than among any other sect. How then are we to account for the feeble support which is now and always has been given to their Periodicals ?

We hope that every one will give this subject due consideration, and do something towards helping on the work.

It will be our endeavor to render this periodical worthy in every respect of the patronage of the public ; and in proportion to our success will be our exertions.

We beg of *every one* to give our Prospectus at least a fair reading, and then decide whether the plan is not worthy of being carried out.

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The Miscellany is not designed to be a controversial work. Its exhibitions of truth and duty will, indeed, be founded on Unitarian views of Christianity; but as the community in which it is expected chiefly to circulate, has passed beyond the elements of the controversy between Unitarians and their fellow Christians, it will be the object of this work, not so much to defend those opinions, as to treat them in their practical bearings, and to show their power to produce holiness of life.

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MARCH, 1839.

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